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JERUSALEM

THE TOPOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 70

BY

GEORGE ADAM SMITH
D.D., LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND TIIEOLOGY, UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO THE

MEMORY

OF

M. S.

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PREFACE

IN the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* it was not possible, for reasons of space, to include a topography of Jerusalem, an appreciation of her material resources, or a full study of the historical significance of her site and surroundings. The present volumes are an attempt to deal with these subjects, and to give in addition a history of the City's politics, literature and religion.

In order to prepare the reader for the long and often intricate discussions of so vast a subject, extending over more than fourteen centuries, I have thought it well to present first of all a picture of the essential Jerusalem. This will be found in the Introduction.

Book I. comprises the Topography of the City and the various questions, which this raises, of position and nomenclature, along with some account of the Climate, a chapter on the Geology and another on Earthquakes. For the earthquakes which we know to have visited Jerusalem not only may have affected that exact distribution of the waters on which so many topographical questions depend, but have certainly by their *debris* masked other features of the site, while the

folklore connected with them has possibly influenced some of the names. There were unfortunately no previous studies of which I could avail myself in dealing with these matters. I have come to no definite conclusions--which, indeed, from the nature of the subject are impossible—but have been content to make a few suggestions and to enforce the need of caution in topographical argument, in face of the disturbance which the earthquakes of Jerusalem have undoubtedly introduced into the tradition of her topography. I have besides quoted the criticisms which the late Sir Charles Wilson kindly sent to me when my views on the subject were first published, so that the reader may judge for himself whether I have gone too far in estimating the influence of the earthquakes. As to the topography itself, one cannot give an .adequate idea of it without the details of the controversies—topical, textual and historical—which have been more numerous and more keenly debated in the case of Jerusalem than in that of any other site in the whole world. Recently, however, the main issues have been cleared of much irrelevant reasoning, and there is a remarkable tendency towards agreement upon many of the conclusions.

The following pages, with their innumerable references, will exhibit the greatness of my debt to all who have worked on the site and, in only a less degree than this, to many who have argued about it. I most heartily express my gratitude to the Palestine Exploration Fund and their pioneers in the survey and excavation of the site—especially Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren,

Colonel Conder, M. Clermont-Ganneau (whose other works are equally valuable), and Dr. F. J. Bliss. For the last thirty years all work on the topography of Jerusalem, whether in English or other languages, has been based on the Fund's Ordnance Survey, its Maps, Plans and Memoirs. These can never cease to be indispensable, to the student. In addition, I thank the Executive Committee of the Fund for their generous permission to me to base the large plan of the City which will be found in the pocket of Volume I. upon their Plan of Jerusalem reduced from the Ordnance Plan made by Sir Charles Wilson. I would also record my indebtedness, like that of every other worker on the subject, to the publications of what is now the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palastinas.' In particular, the chapter on the Geology and the geological map, by which Mr. Bartholomew has illustrated it, could not have been prepared without the materials supplied in Dr. Blanckenhorn's treatise on the Geology of Jerusalem which appeared in their *Zeitschrift;* and every student of the subject knows the value of Dr. Guthe's excavations on Ophel carried out under their auspices. I also owe much to the *Revue Bibli que* and the work of the Dominican Fathers and their colleagues in Jerusalem ; and among other individuals especially to Dr. Merrill, who has generously laid his stores of knowledge at the disposal of inquirers, and whose book we eagerly await ; to the late Herr Baurath Schick, whose labours on the topography and architecture were so long and constant ; to the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, Dr. Masterman, and other

residents in Jerusalem ; to Mr. R. A. S. Macalister ; and to various Directors of the American Archaeological School.

In the following treatment of the topography the reader will not find any novel theories of the cardinal questions. Brought up in the traditional views of the position of Sion on the South-west Hill, I have been constrained by the Biblical evidence to conclude with the majority of modern scholars that the original Sion lay on the East Hill somewhere above the Virgin's Spring ; and also to agree with those who find the rock of the Altar of Burnt-Offering in the present es-Sakhra, and consequently place the Temple to the west of this. Nor have I many fresh suggestions upon the details of the topography. I found, however, that the Biblical evidence as to the name Sion had not received the exhaustive treatment which I have attempted to give it ; and the reader will be interested in at least one of the results of this examination, viz. that the name Sion for the East Hill appears to be avoided by a school of Old Testament writers, and that *the `Ophel* seems to have been once a synonym for it. As to the Walls of the City, all I have attempted is an elucidation of the results of the excavations and an exegesis of the relevant passages in the Old Testament and Joseph us. I think I have given all the evidence that is extant, except in the case of certain alternative theories of the course of the Second Wall, because in my judgment we do not yet possess sufficient material for deciding among them. The question of the Second Wall involves that of the site of Calvary

and the Sepulchre of our Lord. It may disappoint some readers that I offer no conclusion as to this. BLit after twenty-seven years' study of:the evidence I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or other is yet possible, or perhaps ever will be possible. In this negative result I am confirmed by the opinion of an authority of much greater experience, the late Sir Charles Wilson, whose posthumous work, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre,* edited by Sir Charles Watson, and published last year by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is a lucid and exhaustive treatment of this difficult subject. After this, to attempt even to restate the evidence would be superfluous and wearisome. Sir Charles Wilson's volume is invaluable to the student and to the visitor to Jerusalem, not only upon this question but on many others in the topography of the City. Nor have I been able, in the present state of our information, to treat many of the details of the structure and arrangement of Herod's Temple ; though I am clear that its actual site, size and appearance were as I have described them. But upon these and aii other questions of the topography, I must here remind the reader, as I have done several times in the following pages, that the excavation of Jerusalem, though it has been profuse and thorough so far as it has gone, is nevertheless still incomplete, and that much of the ancient site remains unexplored. Whether surprises are in store for us, who can say ?

To the topography proper I have added two chapters on the history of the name Jerusalem and on other names

for the City. The former is founded on a study of the name which appeared in the *Encyclopedia Bib/Ica,* article Jerusalem,' § 1, and which has received the approval of so great an authority in philology as Dr. Eberhard Nestle.

Book ii. The Economics and Politics.—As I put the chapters on the topography into shape, I found that my first design of adding to them one on the material resources of Jerusalem, her agriculture, industries and commerce, would not be sufficient for its subject. The very difficult problems of the City's' economy are immediately suggested by the topography ; they run through every phase of her ethics and politics; the character and organisation of her religion are deeply involved in them ; and their materials survive even in the most spiritual forms of its symbolism—which are in use at the present day. How was so large a community, especially with the enormous additions made to it on the occasions of the great festivals, able to subsist on such a site in such surroundings ? What lands had the City, and what did she grow on them ? Devoid as her territory is of many of the necessaries of life, and beset by obstacles to trade, how did she secure the former and overcome the latter? After supplying their own needs, what surplus of natural products did the citizens possess with which to purchase the commodities denied to them by their own soil ? What other revenues came to them ? There has been no full answer to these problems in the histories of Jerusalem ; some of them have hardly been raised by any historian. Yet they are radical to the life of the City, relevant (as I have said) to

every phase of her history, and greatly intensified by the growth of her peculiar religious institutions. Each of them requires a chapter to itself; and as among them they start the whole subject of the City's administration, I have added two other chapters upon the constitutional history of Israel from the earliest times to the Roman dominion. For these last there are, of course, many precedents ; but as in the economic portions of this work I was without guides, I can hardly have done more than suggest to others fuller and more accurate ways in which to treat the subject.

Book III. The History.—Part of my original design was a sketch of the general history of Jerusalem, without which neither the significance of the site nor the details of the topography, differing as they did from age to age, could be made clear. But I found that this would not be sufficient to accomplish such aims, involving as these do the determination of so many points of historical and literary criticism. And if such a sketch were inadequate to declare the things in Jerusalem that may be seen, handled and physically measured, in so far as they affected the character of her people and the course of her history, still less could it do justice to the things that are unseen, the ethical and religious elements of that history ; which, while sometimes determined by the material conditions, often wonderfully transcend both the aids and the obstacles that the latter contribute to them. It became necessary, therefore, to provide what is virtually a political and religious history of Israel from the time when with David the City was

first identified with the fortunes of the People, to that of Titus when such an identification came to an end. This I have done in Book HI.

It was impossible to prevent some overlapping among these three divisions of the work. The reader will find not a few anticipations of the general history of Book III. in the chapters of the first two Books. The history of the City under the Romans is treated with great brevity in Book HI. because ,so much of it is already given in Book II. under The Government and Police' and The Multitude.'

The most of chapters vi., vii., ix. and x. in Book i., of chapter ix. in Book IL, and of chapters ii. and iv.-xiii. in Book HI., and of Appendices L and H., along with portions of the Introduction, of chapters iv. and v. in Book I., and of chapters ii. and iii. in Book in., have appeared in the *Expositor* for 1903, 1905, 1906. Chapter x. Book II. was delivered as the Inaugural Lecture for Session 1907-8 of the Board of Theological Studies in the University of Liverpool. All the rest of the work is now published for the first time.

The thirteen Maps and Plans for the volumes have been prepared, like those of the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* by the eminent Scottish cartographer, Mr. John George Bartholomew, and warm thanks are due to him for all the trouble he has taken in their preparation, as well as for the clearness and impressiveness with which they have been achieved. Of the fifteen Plates, thirteen are from photographs by myself. The two others

are of coins (except in two cases) from my own collection. To Mr. George Macdonald, LL.D., Honorary Curator of the Hunterian Coin Cabinet in the University of Glasgow, I owe the reproductions of the two coins from that collection, as well as assistance in determining other coins. My thanks are also due to Messrs. T. and R. Annan and Sons, Glasgow, for their beautiful reproduction of the photographs in collotype.

Two other debts I desire to acknowledge as the greatest of all. As my introduction to the history of Jerusalem, and my earliest interest in it, were due to the guidance of the dear kinswoman, my first teacher, to whose memory I have dedicated this work ; so the work would never have been completed but for the constant assistance and counsel of my wife, who, besides reading all the proofs, has prepared the General and Special Indices to both volumes.

I have sought to make the work as useful as I could by giving the greater number of the dimensions and distances stated in the topography in metres as well as in feet, and by multiplying the references to the relevant literature. I have tested all these twice or thrice, but I cannot have escaped falling sometimes into error, and I will be grateful for corrections.

I have appended to this a table of the transliteration of Oriental names.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

GLASGOW,
19th October 1907.

TRANSLITERATION OF SEMITIC NAMES

IN volume I. a number of the familiar historical names have been left in the usual English spelling. The following table explains such of the spelling adopted as may be unusual to the English reader.

HEBREW	ARABIC	ENGLISH TRANSLITERATION
Aleph	Elif	When initial not expressed, when medial'
Gimel		g
	Gim	j
He	Ha	h
Waw	Waw	w (lira few cases v)
Meth	fla	b
	Ha	kh (in a few cases)})
Teal	Ta	
	Z5y	z
Yodh	Ya	usually i or y (but in the Divine and other proper names j)
Kaph	Kaf	k (but in familiar proper names ch)
• 'Ayin	'Ain	
	Ghain	usually gh
Sadhe	Sh'd	
Qoph	Kaf	k

Final *he* (silent) is generally expressed, but not always ; *e.g.* in titles of the tractates of the Mishna and Talmud. Some of these titles, too, have been given in the notes in the conventional spelling; the accurate transliteration will be found in Special Index III. In the text the Arabic definite article *el (en, esh, etc.) is* so spelt—with an *e.* But in a number of names on the large Plan of Jerusalem it appears with an *a—al (an, ash,* etc.).

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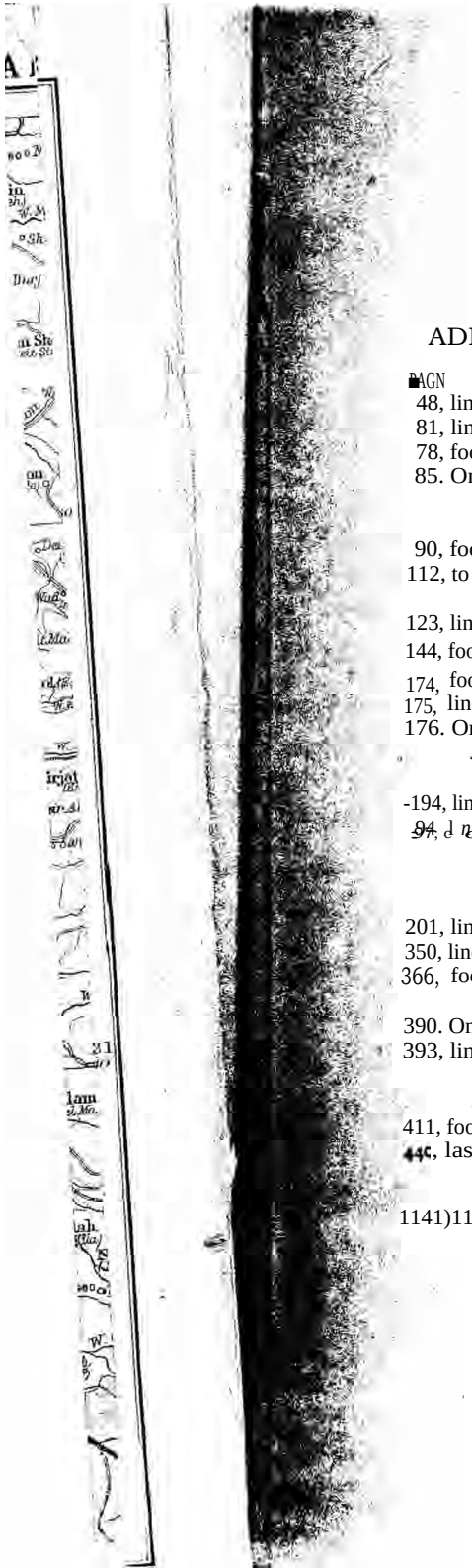
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOLUME L

■AGN

48, line 14 : .1.ala'at read Kal'at.

81, line 19, and footnote 4: Lortet *read* Lartet.

78, footnote 3 : Lortet *read* Lartet.

85. On the reputed spring under the Temple it is interesting to compare Mr: Macalister's discovery of a deep-seated spring, reached by a tunnel below the site of Gezer : *P. E. F. Q.*, January 1908.

90, footnote 2: Kilt *read* el-Kelt.

112, to footnote I add : But see Kittel, *Studien zur Hebraischen Archaologie,* 178 ff.

123, line 13 : ej-Jib *read* ej-Jib.

144, footnote 3 : *read iihy.*

174, footnote 3 : *'emek* (twice) read *`emek.*

175, line 7 : Dr. Schwartz (so spelt by Warren) *read* Rabbi Schwarz.

176. On the Valley and Dung Gates see Mommert, *Topographie d. alien Jerusalem, iver* Theil, 45 ff. With the Dung-Gate cf. the later name for the S. W. quarter of the City, Beth-so, Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

-194, line 11 : 64 B.C. *read* 63 B.C.

94, l ne 24 : Vl Iea dfN

97, c [illegible] of Nehemiah's night-ride see Mommert, *Topogr. d. alt. ferns.* iver Theil 1-12, where he corrects RUckert's view. See also PP. 48 ffe on the Fountain-Gate. '

201, lines 8, 14, 19: *Hanane'..el* read *Hanane'el.*

350, line 1 : *seristm* read *thristm.*

366, footnote 1. *For* Ilyrcanus son of Tobias *we should probably read* Hyrcanus-Tobias. See vol. ii. 426 f.

390. On the date of the Letter of Aristeas see vol. ii. 441 *n.* 3, 447.

393, line 18. The Papyri discovered at Elephantine (see vol. ii., Prefatory Note, and pp. 354 f. *n.* 6) show that there was a Persian Governor of Judah in 411 B.C.

411, footnote 3 : 64 *read* 63.

44c, last line. This was more probably Ptolemy iv. (221-204 a.c.) or Ptolemy V. (204.181). See p. 368.

1141)118. On p. 467 under Josephus (last line), on p. 469 under Mishna (last line), and on p. 471 under Tosephta, for vol. ii. read vol. i. On P. 476 under Talmud (last line) read—Special Index 111. to vol. i.

INTRODUCTION

THE ESSENTIAL CITY



THE ESSENTIAL CITY

HIGH up on the back of a long mountain range, between its eastern flank which is the last bulwark against the Arabian desert, and its western which is the side of the vaster basin of the Mediterranean, lies Jerusalem, facing the desert and the sirocco, yet so close to the edge of the basin as to feel the full sweep of its rains and humid winds. The sea is some thirty-four miles away, washing a bleak coast without harbours. On the other side, the range separated from the Arabian plateau by the profound trench of the Jordan and Dead Sea; but the desert has crossed the trench, and climbs to within a few miles of the City-gates. The site is a couple of rocky spurs, lower than the surrounding summits of the range, but entrenched from them on three sides by abrupt ravines, in one of which lies the only certain spring of the district. There is no river nor perennial stream, and no pass nor natural high-road across the mountain. The back of the range offers a rough pasture, which in the rainy season spreads out upon the desert, but is suitable only to the smaller kinds of cattle. The limestone terraces and slopes are among the best in all the world for the olive and the vine, but there are comparatively few fields for grain. The broad plains of Palestine are far off, and more open to other countries than commanded by her own hills. Even further away are the nearest metals and salts.

Geographically considered the City is the product of two opposite systems of climate and culture. She hangs on the watershed between East and West, between the Desert and the Sea : central but aloof, defensible but not commanding, with some natural resources but bare of many of the necessaries of life. Left alone by the main currents of the world's history, Jerusalem had been but a small highland township, her character compounded of the rock, the olive and the desert : conscious, by right of such a position, of her distinctness and jealous of her freedom ; drawing, from her cultivation of that slow but generous tree, the love of peace, habits of industry and the civic instinct ; but touched besides by the more austere and passionate influences of the desert. Sion, the Rock-fort,' Olivet and Gethsemane, The Oilpress,' the Tower of the Flock, and the Wilderness of the Shepherds, would still have been names typical of her life, and the things they illustrate have remained the material substance of her history to the present day.

But she became the bride of Kings and the mother of Prophets. The Prophets, sons only of that national and civic life of which the Kings had made her the centre, repaid her long travail and training of their genius by the supreme gift of an answer to the enigmas of her life : blew by their' breath into imperishable flame the meaning of her tardy and ambiguous history. She knew herself chosen of God, a singular city in the world, with a mission to mankind. And though her children became divided between a stupid pride in her privilege and a frequent apostasy to other faiths, for she had heathen blood in her from the beginning, God never left Himself without witnesses in her midst, nor ceased to strive with her. She felt

His Presence, she was adjured of His love, and, as never another qty on earth has been, of His travail for her worthiness of the destiny to which He had called her.

Few cities have been so often or so cruelly besieged, so torn by faction, so sapped by treachery, so inflammable to riot, so drenched with blood. The forces of her progress and her re-actions have been equally intolerant, and almost equally savage in their treatment of each other.

Yet it has not been in this ceaseless human strife that the real tragedy of Jerusalem has consisted—except in so far as both sides were together but one side of the more awful contest through the ages between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man. Nowhere else has this universal struggle been waged so consciously, so articulately as in Jerusalem. Nowhere else have its human responsibilities and its Divine opportunities been so tragically developed. The expostulations of souls like Jeremiah's and Habakkuk's with the decrees of Providence and the burdens of Its will have been answered from their own hearts, and those of other prophets, in the assurance of an infinitely more anxious travail and agony waged by God Himself with reluctant man for the understanding of His will, the persuasion of His mercy, and the acceptance of His discipline towards higher stages of character and vision. It is to-day the subject of half the world's worship and of the wonder of the rest, that both these elements in the long religious history of Jerusalem culminated and were combined in the experience of Jesus Christ within and around her walls : on the one hand, in His passionate appeals to the City to turn to Him, as though all the sovereign love and fatherly yearning of God were with Him ; and on the other, in His Temptation, His agony of

submission to the Divine will, and His Crucifixion. So that Sion and Olivet, the Wilderness and Gethsemane, their earthly meanings almost forgotten, have become the names of eternal facts in the history of the relations of God and man.

From another point of view, and with more detail, we may present this essential history of the City as follows.

The life of even the meanest of towns cannot be written apart from the general history of the times through which it has flourished. While still but a hill-fort, with centuries of obscurity before her, Jerusalem held a garrison for the Pharaoh of the day, and corresponded with him in the characters of the Babylonian civilisation.

When such a town, suddenly, without omen, augury or promise of national renown, becomes, as Jerusalem did under DaVid, the capital of a kingdom, her historian is drawn to explore, it may be at a distance from herself, the currents of national life which have surprised her, and the motives of their convergence upon so unexpected a centre. His horizon is the further widened, if the capital which she has become be that of a restless nation upon the path of great empires : tremulous to all their rumour, and provoking, as Jerusalem did from the days of Sennacherib to those of Hadrian, the interference of their arms.

Yet this range of political interest opened to our City only as the reflection of that more sacred fame which dawned upon her when, with Isaiah, the one monotheism of the ancient World was identified with the inviolableness of her walls ; when with Deuteronomy and Josiah the ritual of that religion was concentrated upon her shrine, and the One Temple came to be regarded as equally essential to religion with faith in the One God. Not only

did the Country, already much diminished, shrink in consequetce to be the mere fringe of the City, within whose narrow walls a whole nation, conscious of a service to humanity, henceforth experienced the most powerful crises of their career; not only did her sons learn to add to the pride of such a citizenship the idealism and passionate longing which only exile breeds ; but among alien and far away races the sparks were kindled of a love and an eagerness for the City almost as jealous as those of her own children.

So lofty an influence was exercised by Jerusalem some centuries before the appearance of Jesus Christ ; yet it was only prophetic of the worship she drew from the whole world as the scene of His Passion, His Cross and His Grave. Though other great cities of Christendom, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage and Rome, were by far her superiors in philosophy and spiritual empire, Jerusalem remained the religious centre of the earth—whose frame was even conceived as poised upon her rocks—the home of the'Faith, the goal of most distant pilgrimages, and the original of the heavenly City, which would one day descend from God among men. By all which memories and beliefs the passions of mankind were let loose upon her. She became as Armageddon. Two world-wide religions made her their battle-ground, hurling their farthest kings against her walls and shedding upon her dust the tears and the blood of millions of their people. East and West hotly wntendcd for her, no longer because she was alive, but in devotion to the mere shell of the life that had gone from ;tat% Then, though still a focus in the diplomacy of empires and the shrine of several forms of faith, her politics were rcclucCc' to intrigue and her religion overlaid with super-

stition, for generations hardly touched by any visible heroism or even romance.

In all it has been thirty-three centuries of history, climbing slowly to the Central Fact of all time, and then toppling down upon itself in a ruin that has almost obliterated the scenes and monuments of the life which set her Alone among the cities of the world.

The bare catalogue of the disasters which have overtaken Jerusalem is enough to paralyse her topographer. Besides the earthquakes which have periodically rocked her foundations,[1] the City has endured nearly twenty sieges and assaults of the utmost severity, some involving a considerable, others a total, destruction of her walls and buildings ;[2] almost twenty more blockades or military occupations, with the wreck or dilapidation of prominent edifices ; the frequent alteration of levels by the razing of rocky knolls and the filling of valleys ; about eighteen reconstructions, embellishments, and large extensions, including the imposition of novel systems of architecture, streets, drains and aqueducts, athwart the lines of the old ; the addition of suburbs and the abandonment of parts of the inhabited area ; while over all there gathered the dust and the waste of ordinary manufacture and commerce. Even such changes might not have been fatal to the restoration of the ancient topography, had the traditions which they interrupted been immediately resumed. But there also have happened two intervals of silence, after Nebuchadrezzar and after Hadrian, during which the City lay almost if not altogether desolate, and her natives were banished from her ; five abrupt passages from one religion to another, which even more disastrously severed the con-

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. iv. [2] For these and following statistics, see App. I.

tinuity of her story ; more than one outbreak of fanatic superstition cheating new and baseless tradition ; as well as the long, careless chatter about the holy sites which has still further confused or obliterated the genuine memories f the past.

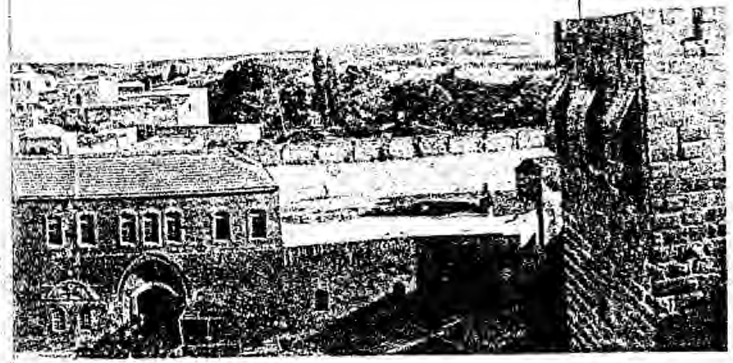
Before we put our hands to this *dibris,* and stir its dust with the breath of a hundred controversies, it is necessary to fill in that general view of the position of the City which we have just taken with some detail of her surroundings and atmosphere ; and of the common life which; under every change of empire and of religion, has throbbed through her streets to the present day.

Jerusalem lies upon the mountain-range of Judaea, about 2400 feet above the sea, and some thirty-four miles from coast of the Mediterranean. From the latter she is separated by a plain, which during the greater part of her history was in the hands of an alien and generally hostile race ; by low foot-hills ; and by the flank and watershed of the range itself. From the west, therefore, except for is rains and its winds, we must realise that Jerusalem stood almost completely aloof. The most considerable valley in the mountains on this side of her, after starting from the watershed a little to the north of her walls, drives its deep trench southward, as if to cut her off more rigOrously from the maritime plain and the sea. Travellers by the modern road from Jaffa will remember how after this has seemed, by a painful ascent from Bab-el-Wad, to attain the level of the City, it has to wind down the steep sides of the Wady BC‘.t-I-Janina or Kuloniyeh, and then wind up again to the watershed. The only pass from the west that can be said to debouch upon Jerusalem is a

narrow and easily defended gorge, up which the present railway has been forced, but which can never have been used as a road of approach either by armies or by commercial caravans. Hence nearly all the great advances on Jerusalem have been made, even by Western Powers in command of the plain, either from further north, by the Beth-horon road, or from further south—by the passes upon Hebron and Bethlehem ; and then, in either case, along the backbone of the range, by the one main route near which the City stands.

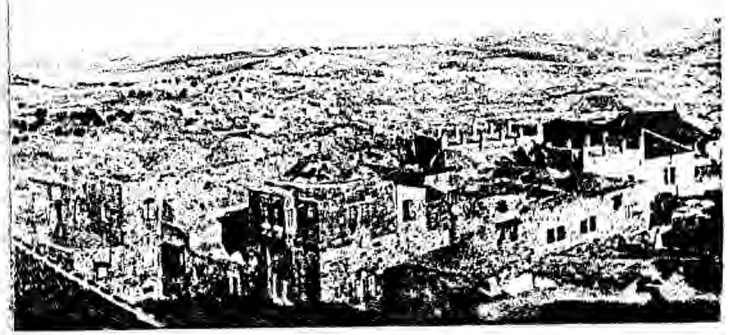
Nor is Jerusalem perched upon the watershed itself, but lies upon the first narrow plateau to the east of this. As you stand at the Jaffa gate and look west, the watershed is the top of the first slope in front of you, and it shuts out all prospect of the west even from the towers and house-tops. The view to the north is almost as short—hardly farther than to where the head of the hidden Wady Bet-Hanina—the precise water-parting----comes over into the faint beginnings of the valley of the Kidron, draining south-east to the Dead Sea. Above the course of this valley and between it and the watershed the ground slopes obliquely from the north-west. Just before the city-walls are reached, it divides into two spurs or promontories running south between the Kidron and the Wady er-Rababi and separated from each other by the now shallow glen, El-Wad, once known as the Tyropceon. These spurs form the site of the city. Without going into the details of their configuration, we find enough for our present purpose in observing that the western is the higher of the two, and that running as they do southwards, the dip of them' and therefore the whole exposure of the city is to the east.

[1] According to Conder the dip of the strata is about io° E.S.E.

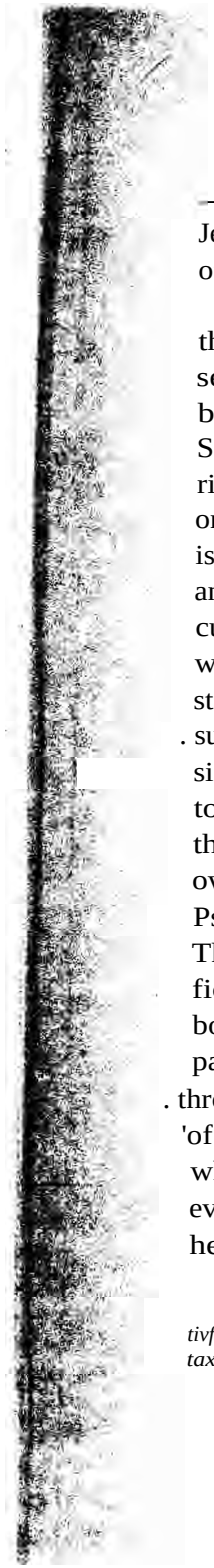


ITE PLATEAU.

Plate II.



YES



Jerusalem, faces the sunrise, which strikes across the Mount of Olives and over the Kidron.

Yet this downward tilt towards Olivet does not exhaust the eastern bent and disposition of the City. We have seen that the west and north are entirely shut off. The blockade is carried round the north-east and east by Scopus and Olivet : the south is equally excluded by the ridge between the city and Bethlehem. In fact there is but one gap in the low and gentle horizon of hill tops, and this is to the south-east: giving view across the desert of Judaea and the hollow of the Dead Sea to the high range of Moab, cut only by the trench of the Arnon and battlemented towards its far southern end by the hill of Kerak. In certain states of the atmosphere, and especially when the evening sun shortens the perspective by intensifying the colour and size of the Moab mountains, the latter appear to heave up towards the city and to present to her the threshold of the Arabian desert immediately above the hills of her own wilderness. Thus, what Josephus says of the tower Psephinus is true of most of the housetops of Jerusalem. Their one ' full prospect is towards Arabia!' The significance of which is obvious. It is as if Providence had bound over the city to eastern interests and eastern sympathies. Hidden from the west and the north, Jerusalem, through all her centuries, has sat facing the austere scenery of the Orient and the horizon of those vast deserts, out of which her people came to her. If the spell of this strikes even, the western traveller as he passes a few evenings on her house-tops, he can the better understand why the

PUe V. *iv. 3: hi -pip gt3(30141■OVra* **VOELS** *WOA& dJv 'Apatilav re tivfaxovrot ipdou vapfixey* dOopav sat *taxru* OaXcirrus patcov *tcXnpouxias taxara.* For the outlook to Moab, see Plate i.

Greeks were not at home in Jerusalem, and why Hellenism, though not forty miles from the Levant, never made her its own ; why even Christianity failed to hold her; and why the Mohammedan, as he looks down her one long vista towards Mecca, feels himself securely planted on her site.

The desert creeps close to the city gates. The blistered rocks and the wild ravines of the Wady of Fire' are within a short walk of the gardens of Siloam. From the walls the wilderness of Judea can be traversed in a day, and be-beyond are the barren coast and bitter waters of the Dead Sea. The sirocco sweeps up unhindered ; *a dry wind of the high places of the desert towards the daughter of my people, neither to fan nor to cleanse* [2] gusty, parching, inflammatory and laden with sand when it comes from the south-east, but clear, cold and benumbing when in winter it blows off the eastern or north-eastern desert plateaus. It is difficult to estimate what effect this austere influence

Wady-en-Nar, the continuation to the Dead Sea of the Eidron valley.

2 Jer. iv. tr. ' It is when the wind blows from the south-east that it acquires the peculiarities which Europeans usually signify by the term *sirocco.* The more the wind tends to the south the more dull and overcast is the sky, and the more disagreeable to the feelings the state of the atmosphere. The worst hind dries the mucous membrane of the air passages, producing a kind of inflammation resulting in catarrh and sore throat ; it induces great lassitude, accelerated pulse, thirst, and sometimes actual fever. It dries and cracks furniture, and parches vegetation, sometimes withering whole fields of young corn. Its force, is not usually great, but sometimes severe storms of wind and fine dust are experienced, the hot air burning like a blast from an oven, and the sand cutting the face of the traveller. This kind of air has a peculiar smell, not unlike that of the neighbourhood of a burning brick-kiln. Sometimes the most remarkable whirlwinds are produced. Clouds of sand fly about in all directions, and the gusts of wind are so violent as to blow weak persons from their horses and to overturn baggage animals.'—Abridged from Dr. Chaplin's account in *P.E.F.Q.,* 1883, p. 16. Sometimes towards harvest a day of this wind will prematurely ripen the grain. But the effect is precarious, and may readily pass into the result of blasting it.—*Diary* , 6th May 2904.

has exeicised on the temperament of the City. A more calculable result in her history was produced by the convenience of the desert as a refuge when the native garrisons of Jerusalem could no longer hold out against their besiegers. Not only was the east the most natural direction of flight for David before Absalom, and for Zedekiah' when he broke with a few soldiers through the blockade of the Babylonian army ; but the desert sheltered both the troops of Judas Maccabus when Jerusalem was taken by the Seleucids, and those bands of zealots who escaped When Titus stormed the citadel and the sanctuary.

Conversely the life of the desert easily wanders into Jerusalem. There are always some Arabs in her streets. You will see one or two of the few Christians of that race worshipping—like Amos at Bethel—on some high festival about the Holy Sepulchre ; and through the environs you will meet a caravan, with salt, skins, wool or dates from *the* Dead Sea or Ma'an, or even from Sinai. Except Damascus or Gaza no Syrian town gathers to itself more of the rumour of Perzea, or of Arabia, from the borders of Hauran to Mecca.[2] In was in or somewhere near Jerusalem that an observer wrote the lines :

I saw the tents of Kushdn in affliction :
The curtains of Midian's land were trenzbling,s

—one of the finest expressions in any literature of the electric passage of tidings through the tremulous East.

David and Zedekiah the first and last kings : **2** Sam. xv. fl., 2 Kings xxv. **4** *f.* Sec further Bk. ii. ch. x.

[2] *Cf.* Robinson, *B.R. i.* 366. In 1896, when the Turks were at war with the Druzes of I lauran and the Government had stopped the telegraphs, news of the conflicts reached the Jerusalem bazaars within a few days.

[3] Habakkuk iii. 7.

And so, too, it is Jerusalem, fully hidden from nearly every point of view in Western Palestine, which, of all sites on the latter, except Bethlehem, remains in most frequent evidence to the traveller on the east of the Jordan. From Machaerus I have seen her buildings with the morning sun upon them round the end of Olivet, and I believe that on a clear day they are also visible from Kerak. From Mount Nebo, from the hills above 'Ara.k-el-'Emir or Rabbath-Ammon, and I think, too, from the Jebel 'Osha` above es-Salt, the Russian tower on the Mount of Olives is always prominent.

The single trunk route which Jerusalem commands runs along the backbone of the western range, from Hebron to the north. It is one of the least important in Palestine. No passage by the city connects the east and west. The nearest—from the maritime plain by the I3eth-horons and past Michmash to Jericho—is almost twelve miles away. Jerusalem, therefore, cannot be regarded as a natural centre of commerce. When she commanded the transit trade of Western Asia, and was in Ezekiel's words *the gate of the peoples ;* [1] or when, in the days of her weakness, she excited the jealousy of her enemies lest she should again become strong enough to exact tribute and toll from them,[2] such an influence must have been due, not to the virtues of her site, but to her political rank as the capital of a strong and compact people entrenched upon the paths between Phoenicia and Edom. Nor was Jerusalem ever, so much as Damascus, Hebron or Gaza, a desert port or market for the nomads, from which they bought their cloth, pottery and weapons ; nor, like Antioch or Mecca, had she (except for a very short period) a harbour of her

1 Ezekiel xxvi. 2 ; LXX. 2 Ezra iv. 20 f.

crown upon the sea. Even when she swayed the commerce of Palestine and Arabia, her influence was political and financial rather than commercial ; [1] the only trade that came to her was due to her comparatively large population, or to her Temple and the multitude of its annual pilgrims. Her industries were also local—potteries, weaving, fulling and dyeing and, later, soap-making. Beyond oil she exported nothing of her own except to the neighbouring villages.

Another feature of life, conspicuous by its meagreness in the district in which Jerusalem stands, is the water supply. The upper strata of the neighbourhood are of that porous limestone, through which, as in the greater part of Western Palestine, the rain sinks to a considerable depth and living springs are far between. The only point in the environs of the City where the lower, harder rocks *now* throw up water to the surface is in the Kidron Valley immediately under the wall of Ophel ; and this supply, secured for the City even in times of siege by a tunnel through the rock, was supplemented by the reservoirs, for which Jerusalem has always been famous, and which were fed from the rain caught upon the multitude of her roofs. These gave the city, when blockaded, an advantage over most of her besiegers, who found no springs in her immediate neighbourhood, and in several cases were ignorant of any even at a distance.[2] To which facts we may attribute the brevity and failure of several blockades,[3] as well as the unwillingness of every great

1 This is especially obvious in Josephus.
2 Such as the copious well at 'Ain Karim, from which the upper classes in Jerusalem still carry water because of its purity.
3 Such as those of the Nabateans in 63 B.C., and of Cestius Gallus in 66 A. D.

invader to come near to Jerusalem till he had made very sure of his base of supplies in the lower country round about.' The City's strength, then, was this : that, while tolerably well watered herself, she lay where her besiegers could find not much food and scarcely any water. Strabo describes her thus : The site is rocky, and surrounded by a strong *enceinte;* within well provided with water, but without absolutely arid.'[2]

The immediate surroundings of Jerusalem are bare and rocky ; with some exceptions they can hardly ever have been otherwise. The grey argillaceous soil is shallow, stony, and constantly interrupted by scalps, ledges, and knolls of naked limestone. In the sides and bottoms of the wadies green patches are visible ; but the only natural gardens are those fed from the overflow of the one spring in the valley of the Kidron. On the north-west of the City, the winter rains render the ground swampy : for example, in the Khallet el-Kasabe the little valley of the reeds,' where reeds still grow, and in the Khallet et-Tarha. Here and there the environs show fields of grain or vegetables ; and one of the northern gates was called Genath, the garden.'[3] The foliage to-day is nearly altogethei that of the olive-trees, scattered at intervals in the stony orchards on the hill-sides, or down the Kidron and the WA.dy er-Rababi. The vineyards are few. Within the walls

Cf. *H. G. H. L.* 298 ff. for Vespasian, Titus and Saladin. Thus also may be partly explained the long delay of Richard I. in the Shephelah, and his ultimate abandonment of the advance on Jerusalem.

[2] *Geog. xvi.* 4o. Dion Cassius (lxvi. 4) puts the same fact more vividly in his account of the siege by Titus : *ye Se ail ,rXeio•rov ol'hop.aioc Tit &OA& gKa Ko-m˙dOovy, Kal tixt0Xoo, Kat iryikoOev Nov erray6pevoc• of Se 'Iou8alot Sat rUiv inrov61.4cov to˙xuov.* Similar evidence from the Crusades, Will. of Tyre *Hz'sl.* viii. 4, 7, 24. The water.supply of Jerusalem forms the subject of ch. v. of Bk. i. of this volume.

[3] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2. See below, p. 243.

theft are less than half a dozen palms, exotic at this altitude, and some other trees in the garden of the Armenian monastery. The sycomore, the chief source of * timber in Judaea, does not grow at so high a level. Whether in ancient times the groves of olive were more numerous, or whether trees of other species ever clothed the surrounding hills, are questions difficult to answer. Olivet has almost lost its title to the name, by the Jewish graveyards and Christian buildings which have recently multiplied on the face opposite the City, and is now excelled in greenery by the western slope towards the watershed. But in ancient times the Mount of Olives would hardly have been called so, had it not stood out in conspicuous contrast to the other hills. One can well believe that its north-western flank, the high basins between it and Scopus, and its eastern folds towards 13ethany were once covered with trees. They are still fertile and support a number of orchards' The Jews who returned to Jerusalem after the Exile were bidden *to go up into the mountain and bring wood*[2] for building, but this may not have been in the immediate neighbourhood. Josephus mentions a timber-market ;[3] but probably it was for imported beams, and even most of the fuel may have come from a distance. Where the royal park lay from which Nehemiah was empowered to obtain timber,[4] we do not know. It is striking how seldom any tree appears in the present place-names of the immediate environs.[5] One has to walk several miles before encountering the

Jerome, on Jerem. vii. 3o, mentions groves in Hinnom where olives still flourish. See Plate in.

Haggai i. 8.

[4] Nell. ii. 8, cf. I Chron. xxvii. 28.

[3] ii. B.J. xix. 4.

[5] See below, Bk. ii. ch. iv.

name of the oak, the plane-tree, the tamarisk or the thorn, and the nearest wood is three miles down the railway.' The latter instances prove that such trees could grow around Jerusalem, and the bareness of her suburbs during the Arab period may be due to the number of her sieges. We know that Pompey cleared away the trees, and one hundred and thirty-three years later Titus is said to have done so for a distance of ninety stadia froni the walls, and, in particular, to have cut down all the groves and orchards to the north on the line of the main assault.[2] There may, therefore, have been periods in which the hills engirdling the City were much more green than they are to-day ; but if this was the case, it has left no reflection in literature. We do not read of woods about Jerusalem. It is *mountains* which stand round her ;[3] and except for Olivet, and perhaps Bezetha and Bethphage, there is in the neighbouring place-names of the Bible no trace of trees.[4]

The climate of Jerusalem is easily described, especially since the details have been reduced to statistics by the scientific observations of the last forty years.[5] As through-

▾ *P.E. F. Large Map,* Sheet xvii., and Schick's *Katie der Weiteren Umgebung von Jerusalem, Z.D.P. V.* xix., with the list and explanation of names accompanying.

[2] Josephus vi. *B.J. i.* r, viii. 1 ; v. *B./* iii. 2. [3] Ps. cxxxv. 2.

[4] Bezetha may equal Beth-zaith, *house of olives :* Bethphage may be *h. of the green fig.* In 68o A.D. Arculf found few trees on Olivet except vines and olives. In Crusading times woods of any importance were found near Jerusalem only on the west of its territory, Belle-fontaine, St. Jean des Bois, Emmaus, and also north of Hebron.—Rey, *Colonies Franques, etc.,* 239.

"The observer to whom we owe most of these is the late Dr. Chaplin, whose vivid paper, ` Observations on the Climate of Jerusalem,' *P.E. F. Q.,* 1883, pp. 8 ff., accompanied by numerous tables giving the result of observa. Lions between 186o-i and 1881.2, ought to be studied by all who wish to understand the climate, not of Jerusalem only, but of all Palestine (cp. 0. Kersten, *Z.D.P. V. xiv.* 93 ff.). See also the works quoted below, p. 77 f., on the Rainfall.'

out Syria, the year is divided into two seasons, a rainy winter and a dry summer, but at so high an elevation the extremes are greater and the changes more capricious than in the rest of Palestine. With an annual rainfall about that of London,' the city receives this within seven months of the year—a quarter of it in January alone [2]—and through the other five, May to October, is without more than a few showers. July is absolutely rainless ; June, August and September practically so. The drought is softened by heavy dews and by dense mists, which trail away swiftly in face of the sunrise. The temperature, with a mean of 62°,[3] has also its extremes. Not only is winter colder than on the plains, but the summer heat mounts higher and is more trying. In fifteen years there was an average of thirty-eight days on which the thermometer was above 90°—on twenty-eight occasions from ioo° to Io8° ; and an average of fifty-five nights on which it fell under 40°, with 107 descents to or below freezing-point.[4] Ice is therefore formed but does not last through the day. Snow has fallen in fourteen seasons out of thirty-two ; for the most part in small quantity, and soon melted ; but sometimes

[1] 25.23 inches on an average of thirty-two years, 1861.1892 ; Glaisher, 1894, p. 45. Hilderscheid (p. 34) calculates the average of thirty-nine years at Dr. Chaplin's station within the walls as 26.05 (66r8 rum.).

[2] December, February and March are the next most rainy months in that order. The rains begin to fall either in October or November, the latter rains in the end of March, but lessening through April.

[1] Fahrenheit ; 1882.1896, P. *E. F. Q.,* 1898, 202 f.

[4] Glaisher, 1898, pp. 183 ff. In Sarona, near Jaffa, the number of days in which the mercury rose above 90° in tell years varied annually from $ to 39 (average 23'6); the nights in which it fell below 40° varied from 2 to *Is* (average 6.5), *P.E.F.Q.,* 1891, pp. 165, 170. Chaplin *(P.E. F. Q.,* 189S, p. 184) reports for Jerusalem once tz° and *(id.* 1883, Tab. xiv.) once 25·0° (in January).

there are heavy snowstorms, and the drifts lie in the hollows of the hills for two or three weeks? After both snow and rain the clayey soil will be muddy for days, but the porous limestone prevents the formation of swamps ;[2] and although the air may continue damp, it is not in itself unhealthy. The present malariousness of the City at certain seasons arises from the masses of *ellbris.* Rain and snow have been known to last for thirteen or fourteen days in succession, but usually the winter rains fall for one or two days at a time, and these are followed by one or more of fine weather, 'some of the most enjoyable that the climate of Palestine affords.'

One rainy day I vividly remember ; it was typical of many. Clouds coming up from the sea on a westerly wind, their skirts were caught upon the watershed, while the rest hurried raining over the City. Blue sky broke between ; the wet house-tops and the green and grey of the surrounding hills glistened with a brief reflection. Then the gap closed, and beneath the compact pall all became dark, the olive-groves turning to black and the limestone ridges by contrast to a white as of long-bleached bones. The wind was chill and mournful, and brought up to one the keynote of the ancient dirge-

> ' *When the Lord beclouds with his wrath*
> *The daughter of Sion.'* [4]

When the winter east wind comes, it is clear and dry, but sometimes benumbing. The sirocco, or south-east

Chaplin, p. xi. In December 1879 the fall of snow was 57 inches. On March 54, 188o, it was 5 inches ; and I remember the consequent mud and cold when I reached Jerusalem in the end of the month.

[2] With the transient exceptions mentioned above, p. **16.**

[3] Chaplin, *oft. cit.* p. 9.

[4] Lam. ii. I.

wind, with its distressing heat and dull atmosphere of sand,[1] blows at frequent intervals in April, May and October. The daily breeze from the sea during summer?. does not ,always reach Jerusalem, and when it does, has often been robbed of its refreshing qualities :[3] the reason of the excess of the summer heats over those of the coast. The summer dusts are thick : at that height easily stirred and irritating. The long drought, exhausting many of the reservoirs, and the sultry nights, robbed of moisture by the failure of the west wind, are more dangerous to health than the rainy season. From May till October ' the climatic diseases of the country, such as ophthalmia, fevers and dysentery, are most prevalent.'[4]

On the whole, then, the climate of Jerusalem is temperate and healthy ; but with rigours both of cold and heat. Except during the sirocco and some dusty summer days, the atmosphere is clear and stimulating. There is no mirage in the air, nor any glamour, save when, sometimes at evening, the glowing Moab hills loom upon

[1] See above, p. **12.** *H. G.H.L.* p. 52o.

Chaplin, p. 15. The west wind has been observed 55 times in a year. The prevailing wind at Jerusalem is the north-west, blowing from ioo to 15o days in the year. Dr. Masterman kindly writes me, ' Your note implies that the west wind is rare ; this is of course quite a mistake, as it is almost a constnut feature from midday onwards. Now in June, for example, we have quite a stiff breeze almost daily from noon till the small hours of the next morning. Many days, and still more nights, it amounts to quite a gale. Dr. Chaplin's figures only refer to the direction of the wind at nine in the morning. As the observations are made in my own house for the Fund, I know this well.'

[4] Chaplin, p. **20.** Dr. Masterman writes I suppose any medical man now would be apt to cavil at the idea of any " air" [see previous page] being malarious, but that Jerusalem is an extremely malarious place, especially, of course, in the summer months, my daily work shows. I could fill our hospital here several times over with malaria cases only. There is no season free from this scourge, and travellers in the spring, not at all infrequently, *are* affected.'

the City, or when the orange moon rises from behind them, and by her beams you feel, but cannot fathom, the awful hollow of the Dead Sea. But these touches of natural magic are evanescent, and the prevailing impression is of a bare landscape beneath a plain atmosphere, in which there is no temptation to illusion nor any suggestion of mystery. This is no doubt part of the reason why the visitor is so often disappointed by an atmosphere which he expected to fascinate him. Let him reflect that this very plainness is significant. He must bring the spell with him out of the history ; and his appreciation of it will only be enhanced by the discovery that Nature has lent almost nothing to its original creation.

In such surroundings and such an atmosphere, Jerusalem sits upon her two promontories in the attitude already described : facing the Mount of Olives and looking obliquely through the one gap of her encircling hills towards the desert and the long high edge of Moab. The ravines which encompass the promontories—the valley of the I.idron and the Wady er-Rababi—determirie the extreme limits of the town on the east, the south and the west. They enclose a space, roughly speaking, of about half a mile square. It will be our duty to inquire how much of this was occupied by houses or girdled by walls at successive stages of the history : questions which are the subject of much dispute. But for our present purpose —which is to recall some image of the Essential City, the same which through so many centuries has grown and adorned herself, and been trampled and suffered ruin —it is sufficient to take as much as we can of the present town and its most prominent features. Virtually upon her ancient seat Jerusalem still sits and at much the same

slope ; rising, that is, from the edge of the Iiidron valley up the same easy ascent to the constant line of her western wall. Only her skirts do not extend, as they did in ancient times, over the southern ends and declivities of the two promontories ; but these lie bare and open, even the ruins of their walls being buried out of sight. As we shall see, the present shape of the City is no natural growth, but the stamp which her Roman conquerors impressed upon her. Along with the mouth of the Tyropceon, that opens between them, the inferior parts of those southern declivities formed the lowest portion of the ancient city, from which stairs and steep lanes led to the Temple terrace over the l..idron. This terrace is now the lowest stretch of the city ; it remains what it always was, a large court with a sanctuary, and at its north-west corner there are barracks and a tower on the site of what was once a .citadel? To the north the ground, after a depression representing an ancient fosse is passed, rises somewhat quickly and is covered with houses : once a suburb, but now within the walls. To the west of the sanctuary-platform the houses, also thickly clustering, dip for a little—above the once deeper depression of the Tyropceon, the line of which is still visible across the city from north to south—and then the roofs slowly but steadily rise till they culminate in the tower of Herod and the present citadel bx the Jaffa gate.

Looking down upon this sloping city, either from one of its own towers or from the Mount of Olives, we are struck by the crowding of its houses. Except round the sanctuary, and for almost imperceptible intervals at the gates and a few other sites, there are no open spaces or

1 Antonia of the Roman poriod.

even open lines ; for there are no streets or squares, but only close and sombre lanes, climbing steeply from the Temple Court to the west, or, at right angles to these, dipping more gently from north to south.' And so it must nearly[2] always have been. *Jerusalem is budded as a city that is compact together.*[3] The locusts, besiegers and death are pictured by the Prophets as entering the windows and houses directly from the walls.[4] Throughout the Old Testament we read of *streets* very seldom, and then probably not in the proper sense of the name, which is *broad places,* but under a poetic licence.° Even in Isaiah's time it is only on the housetops,° or on the walls,[7] that we see the whole population gathered for a purpose which is not religious. Josephus frequently mentions the narrow streets,' and the fighting from the housetops .[8] Through these lanes, ever close, steep and sombre as they are to-day, there beats the daily stir of the City's common life : the passage of her buzzing crowds, rumour and the .exchange of news, the carriage of goods, trading and the smaller industries, the search for slaves and criminals, the bridal processions, the funerals, the tide of worshippers to the Temple, and occasionally the march of armed men. And through them also raged, as Josephus describes, the fighting, the sacking, the slaughter : all the fine-drawn pangs and anguish of the days of the City's overthrow.

Above these narrow arteries, through which her hot

l Cf. Lam. iv. I ; *the top of every street.*

2 The early Christian Jerusalem showed a line of columned street, from the present Damascus gate southwards.

3 Ps. cxxii. 3. 4 Joel II. 9 ; Jer. ix. 21 [20].

5 Lam. ii. II, 12 ; iv. 18 ; Jer. ix. 21 [20] : xxii. 1.: *What ailest thou that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops !*

7 XXXVi. II.

s *B.J.,* e.g. I. xviii. 2 ; II. xv. 5 ; V. viii. I *(bis);* VI. viii. *5: of ō revcorol.*

bloodbraced, Jerusalem, to the outside world, showed clean and fair : a high-walled white city ; steep and compact, but with one level space, where since the time of Solomon her Temple rose, and since the Exile there were no secular buildings.

This is as much of the ancient City as by light of day we dare reconstruct from her present condition. For the strong eastern sun aggravates the nakedness of those slopes to the south which were once covered with houses and girt by walls ; emphasises the modern buildings and the fashions of western life that everywhere obtrude ; and flattens still further the shallow ravines, which, before they were choked with the *debris* of so many sieges, lifted the city high and gallant above their precipitous sides. He who would raise again the Essential City must wait for night, when Jerusalem hides her decay, throws off every modern intrusion, feels her valleys deepen about her, and rising to her proper outline, resumes something of her ancient spell. At night, too, or in the early morning, the humblest and most permanent habits of her life may be observed, unconfused by the western energies which are so quickly transforming and disguising her.

It was a night in June, when from a housetop I saw her thus. There was a black sky with extremely brilliant stars ; the city, not yet fallen asleep, sparkled with tiny lights. I could scarcely discern the surrounding hills. Moab was invisible. After an hour a paleness drew up in the south-east, the sky gradually lightened to a deep blue, the stars shone silver, and a blood-red gibbous moon crept suddenly above the edge of Moab, and looked over into the Dead Sea. The sleeping city was now dark, lying in huddled folds of black, save where, through a wider gap,

one palm and the dome of the Ashkenazim synagogue stood out against the pearly mist of the Moab hills. But as the moon fully struck her, Jerusalem seemed to turn in her sleep, and in something of her ancient outline, lifted herself, grey and ghostly, to the light. I descended, and issuing by the Jaffa gate, saw her in another aspect : the western wall alive, erect and grim against the sky, while its shadow deepened the valley below. The wall is Turkish, and only a few centuries old, but even so must the ramparts and the towers of Herod have looked to the night-guards in the Roman trenches. A caravan of camels came up from the Hebron road ; the riders in white abbas swaying over the necks of their beasts, that with long strides paced noiselessly upon the thick dust. They stopped outside the gate, the camels were made to kneel, the bales were loosened from their backs, and stacked upon the ground ; the men lay down beside them, and in a few minutes were asleep. No wind stirred, and except for spasms of barking from the street dogs, answered now and then from a far-away village, scarcely a sound broke the silence. The moonshine at last turned the wall and touched the muddy water at the lower end of the great reservoir beyond. A pair of jackals stole down to drink, but fled before the yelp of the dogs. For the next two hours nothing stirred but the wash of breeze through the olives on Nikophorieh ; till the cocks crew, and two horsemen came through the gate, the first apparently for the long ride to Jaffa, the second by the Birket Mamilla for the Gaza road down the Wady el-Word. Looking up to the edge 'of the citadel, one could see how Herod had built his tower there to command these approaches, as well as that from Hebron and the south.

I rsturned to the housetop. The sky had grown blue in the lower east, and above that from purple to pink. Swifts began to fly past the houses : thronging at last till the air was thick with them. A bugle rang out from the citadel, and was answered up the town from Antonia ; challenge and answer were several times repeated. In the hollow between Scopus and the Mount of Olives the sky grew red. Two camels entered the Jaffa gate laden with lemons, and knelt groaning upon the pavement ; the netting burst and the lemons spilt into the shadow. A fruitLseller set out his wares on a basket. A black woman, some porters, and a few sleepy soldiers, crossed the open space inside the gate. In the eastern sky the crimson had spread to pink, which was followed by a deep yellow, and the first beams of the sun broke across Olivet. The Latin clock struck five. A detachment of soldiers were threading their way up from Antonia, invisible, but bugling loudly. They broke on the street near the castle, and, forming fours, passed over to the drawbridge. The lower city, the sanctuary and its court, caught the sunshine, and life grew busy. Lines of camels laden with charcoal stalked through the gate ; followed by donkeys with wood for fuel. A man swept the street, and a boy put the refuse in a bag on a donkey's back. The barber and the knife-grinder took up their posts on the pavement. A small flock_ of sheep, peasants with eggs and cucumbers, and (since it was a summer of more than usual drought) a line of water-carriers from 'Ain Karim, entered together in a small crowd. There was a shuffling of many feet on the pavements, and in the bazaars the merchants were opening their booths.

So Jerusalem must have looked by night to Herod when

his dreams drove him to the housetop. So Solomon's caravans may have come up in the moonlight from Elath and from Jaffa. So the sick king must have heard the swifts screaming past his window. So, in the Roman occupation, the bugles rang out from the tower, and were answered from Antonia. And, so through all the centuries, the dawn has broken upon Jerusalem, and the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the peasants with their vegetables, the sheep for the temple sacrifices, and all the common currents of the City's life, have passed with the sunrise through the gates, and stirred the gloom of the narrow lanes with the business of another day.

a

BOOK I

THE TOPOGRAPHY

SITES AND NAMES

CHAPTER I

THE SITE OF THE CITY

JERUSALEM lies (as we have seen) immediately to the east of, and slightly below, the main ridge or water-parting of the Judazan range. That ridge running southwards at an average height of over 2600 feet trends a little to the west, just south of the village Sha'fat about a mile and a half from the north wall of the City, and then runs south again at 2685 (818.58 m.), 2669 (813.71 m.), and slightly lower elevations past the City till it falls to about 2450 feet (746·95 m.), on the plain el-Bukei'a, commonly held to be the ancient Rephaim. The main ridge thus forms the western side of a rough triangle, of which the eastern is a spur of its own that leaves it where it trends west, and running south-east and south at about 268o feet *(c.* 817 m.), culminates in the summit of the Mount of Olives, 2693 *(c.* 821 m.) ;[1] while the southern side is formed to the east of el-Bukeira by a hill running eastward, the Jebel Deir Abu Tor, traditionally known as the Hill of Evil Counsel, 2550 feetaligh (777.43 m.). These are the mountains that are round about Jerusalem.

The Hills round about.

[1] This appears to be the figure on the Large P.E.F. map at the village et-Tor. The Memoirs, iii. p. 2, give the highest elevation as 2680 (817 *in.),* Baedeker's and Schick's maps of the nearer environs of Jerusalem, have 812 m., 2664 at the Russian Tower, but further n. at Karm es-saiyad 818 in., 2684 ft. *(Z.D.P.V. xviii. 557);* Wilson (Smith's *B.D.* 1587) gives 2641 feet at Ch. of Ascension.

The space they enclose is about 2i miles, north and south, by i at its greatest breadth. It may be roughly described as a triangular basin declining from its north-western side, that is nearly on the level of the main ridge or about 255o feet (777 m.), to its south-eastern angle, where its only outlet runs by the W. en-Nar, between the Mount of Olives and the Jebel Deir Abu Tor at a level of about 198o feet (603.6 m.). At first a high plateau, it hollows eastward with the beginnings of the W. Sitti Mariam, here known as the W. ej- J6z, and recovering for a little, just outside of the present north wall of the city breaks up into three distinct valleys or gorges with two promontories between them, all in the main running south. The eastmost valley is the W. Sitti Mariam, along the base of the Mount of Olives. The middle one is el-Wad, which separates the two promontories. The western one is the W. er-Rababi, which first runs south under the main ridge and then turns sharply eastwards under the Jebel Deir Abu Tor, to join the other two at the outlet from the basin.

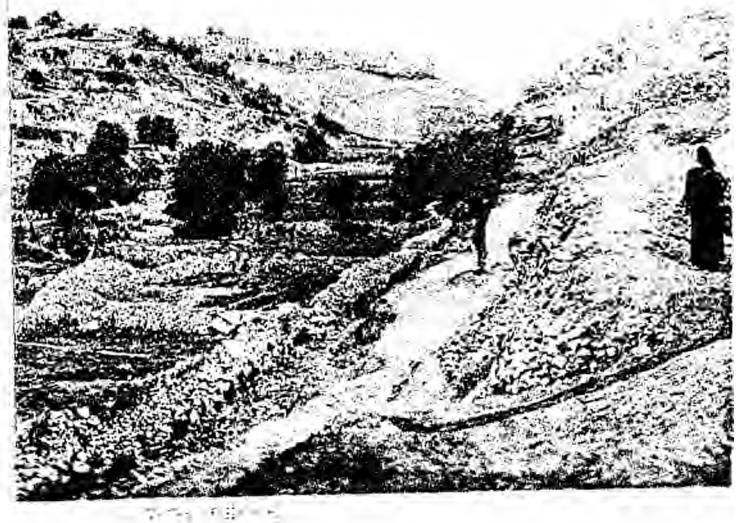
The Basin within them.

The two rocky promontories running south from the plateau, with the valley el-Wad between them, form the site of the City proper. On the north they merge across its head in the plateau. But the Wadies Sitti Mariam and er-Rababi deeply entrench them on the east, south and west ; by their steep sides providing almost impregnable bulwarks against siege, as well as impassable limits to the City's building. The north, therefore, is the only direction from which a foe can attack Jerusalem or towards which the City may extend herself. Of the two promontories, that between the Wadies Sitti Mariam and el-Wad is known, in the topography of Jerusalem, as

The City's Site Proper.



E. Hill. aE. Corner of Temple Area. *Pia!,*



the tast Hill ; that between el-Wad and er-Rababi as the West Hill. The West Hill is the higher and more extended of the two, overlooking, and on the south overreaching, the end of the other. The two may be roughly likened to a thumb and forefinger pointing south, the latter somewhat curved. The. hand in which they merge to the north is the plateau.

The 'East Hill, or promontory, really starts from the plateau north of the present city-wall near the Church of St. Stephen, and runs between the W. Sitti Mariam and el-Wad southward to its lowest point at Siloam : approximately 1968 yards (180o rn.) long, or nearly .a mile and an eighth ; narrow and falling steeply on either side into the Wady Sitti Mariam and el-Wad, which are now choked with *tilbris,* but were once 20 to 40 feet deeper. The East Hill has now four summits ; but anciently had perhaps five. The northmost is outside the present City : the knoll el-Edhemiyeh 2549 feet (about 777 m.) above the sea. The long trench between it and the city-wall is artificial, some think on the line of an ancient, natural gully running east into the W. Sitti Madam. The second summit of the East Hill is within the north-east angle of the present City, the Mohammedan quarter, anciently Bezetha : on which some of the levels, above the entrance to the Royal Quarries, are 2524 feet (y•s m,)[1] East of this summit the East Hill was cleft from north to south in ancient times by a ravine which begins to sink from the plateau outside the north wall, . north-east of el-Edhemiyeh, and may be traced under that

The East

[1] According to the Ordnance Survey; see *P.E.F. Mem.,* Jerus.' 279, No. 90. Kummuel *(Materiailen zur 7'opogr. des Allen ferns.* p. 2r) quotes from Carl Zimmermann a slightly higher level here : 771 In.

wall, past the Church of St. Anne (where it is 2411 feet or 735 m.) into the present Birket Israil (2344 or 714.3 m.), from which it bends eastward a little, and beneath the north-east corner of the Haram area issues on the W. Sitti Mariam, just north of the Golden Gate, at a level of about 223o feet or 68o m.[1] On the west of this gully the East Hill runs south by a narrow saddle to the prominent rock (2462 feet, 750·3 m.)[2] on which the castle Antonia was built, the site of the present Turkish barracks. From this point the original gradients of the East Hill are masked by the artificial platform of the Haram esh-Sherif, the ancient Temple area, the general level of which is about-242o feet *(circa 737* m.).[3] The next original summit, however, the fourth, may be taken to be the Rock es-Sakhra, beneath the great Dome, 2440 feet or nearly 744 metres. From this the natural hill declines rapidly southwards beneath the present mosque el-Alssa and (I reserve in the meantime the question whether it originally rose once more into a hump or knoll south of the Haram) more gradually falls to about 2100 feet (640 m.) at Siloam. On this last slope, a triangle between the W. Sitti Mariam and el-Wad, which join at its lowest point, stood the ancient Ophel, south of the Temple area.

The West Hill.

The West Hill really starts from the watershed itself and declines south-east along the Jaffa road to the north-west angle of the present walls. From this to its southern limit in the W. er-Robabi, just below the eastward curve of the latter, it measures some

[1] Sir Charles Wilson has given the name 'St. A me's' to this ravine: *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre,* 25 f. and Plan. Some take it to be the Chaphenatha of 1 Macc. xii. 37.

[2] *P.E.F. Mem., 'Jerus.'* 16.

3 But the central platform averages 2434 to 2435 feet, 742 m.

1,300 yards (about 1189 m.) but diagonally to its furthest point below Siloam at the junction of the three valleys 1614 yards *(c.* 1476 m.), while of course if we take it from the watershed it is much longer still. The West Hill was like the East, divided by a ravine, in this case a second head of the valley el-Wad, which, descending from a saddle by the site of the present Jaffa Gate, followed the line of the present David Street. The hill to the north of this ravine, known as the North-west Hill, on the slope of which the Church of the Sepulchre lies, rises in the north-west corner of the City as high as 2581 feet (or 7865 m.). The hill to the south of the ravine, known as the South-west Hill, the traditional Sion, is disposed in three terraces running north and south. The western and highest, on which the Citadel, the Armenian gardens and the Ccenaculum now stand, is from 2550 to 252o feet (777 to 768 in.); the second, to the south of the street leading north from Sion Gate, varies from 250o to 2430 (762 to 740·5 m.) ; there is then a sudden drop over a long scarp to the third, 2400 to 236o feet (7315 to 719.5 m.), which is nearly on the present level of the valley el-Wad, where this passes the south-west corner of the Haram. But further south the South-west Hill descends from the Camaculum, 2519 (768 m.), even more rapidly and deeply to the level of Siloam, about 2080 (634 m.).

The Central Valley.

We take now the central valley, el-Wad, between the East and West Hills. Of all the natural features of the site, this—one of the most important historically, for there can be no doubt that it is the Tyropœon of Josephus—has suffered most from the manifold wrecking and waste of the City. Choked with the *debris,* that has rolled into it from the ruined slopes on

either side, its original bed lies from zo to 90 feet below the present surface ; while the houses which fill its northern part enhance the first casual impression that the West Hill sweeps over to the Temple Area on the East Hill without a break. Yet from any of the towers or housetops on the former, which command a view of all Jerusalem, the line of the central valley is still visible down the whole of its course from just outside the Damascus Gate, where it first sinks in the plateau, to its fall into the W. en-Nar below Siloam ; in all about 164o yards (c. 1500 m.)[1] This faintly perceptible line of valley is one of the first features of the City which the visitor on his arrival should master ; and he must then deepen his impression of it by a study of the following figures, which show the differences between the levels of the present surface and those at which the officers of the English survey found the rock below, on approximately the original bed of the valley.' Just outside the Damascus Gate, or Gate of Columns, the ground is 2474, and just inside 2462 feet (754 and 750.6 m.). Down the long Street of the Gate of Columns,' it sinks gradually till past the barracks—the ancient Antonia. Opposite the north-west angle of the Temple area it is 2413 (735.5 m.), but the rock is here only 2369 (722 m.). Opposite the summit of the East Hill, es-Sakhra, 2440 feet (744 m.), the present level of the valley is about 2400 feet (731.5 m.),

That is, measuring from about 66 yards to the north of the Damascus Gate, but perhaps the measure should start from even a little further north.

[2] The contours of the rock are taken from the ' Rock Contours of Jerusalem,' by Lieut.-Col. [now Major-Gen. Sir] C. Warren, R.E., `from the records of the Excavations, from the Ordnance Survey, and from levels supplied by Herr C. Schick and others,' Plates II. and III. in the *P.E.F.* portfolio of *Excavations at Jerusalem.* The surface levels are, as before, from the *P.E.F. Plan of Jerusalem,* by Sir Charles Wilson.

but 411e rock is found below the 2349 contour (716 m.) : more than 50 feet of difference. Below the south-west angle of the Temple area (under which the bed of the valley passes) the ground is about 2382 (726 in.), the rock is just on the 2289 contour (697.8 m.), and from this the descent is rapid to the Lower Pool of Siloam : ground about 2100 (640 m.), rock 2049 (624·6 m.).[1] These figures prove that in the earliest times the central valley, el-Wad, must have run from 20 to 90 feet deeper than it does to- ay between the East and the West Hills.

.Taking together all these details of the three principal constituents of the Site of Jerusalem, the East Hill, the West Hill, and the Valley between them, we are able to form a general view of the City, and to grasp the dominant features of her site. Results of the foregoing.

First, then, we notice that the extreme slope or fall of the site is from the north-west angle of the present City (which is the summit,[2] within the walls, of the North-west Hill) 2581 feet (786·5 m.), diagonally to the south-east angle at the mouth of el-Wad between the ends of the two hills, just under 2100 feet (640 m.): a difference of 480 feet *(c.* 146 m.). The whole exposure and prospect of the Site is thus to the south-east, and towards what we have seen to be the only break in the ring of higher hills which encircle it. 1. Main Dip of the Site—

Second, we notice that the crowning elevation of the North-west Hill is—after the narrow ravine is passed which descends from the Jaffa Gate to the middle valley—fairly sus- 2. Dominance of the West Hill.

d along the whole of the long top of the South-west

here of course there was probably always more soil than in the upper lit macs of the valley.

'. 1.,Cala'at or Ilasr J Mad, Goliath's Castle.'

Hill, 2550[1] to 2520 feet (777 to 768 m.) ; or from 200 to 260 feet (61 to 79 m.) above the levels of the middle valley below the Temple area, and even II() feet (33·5 m.) above the summit of the East Hill, es-Sakhrah. *Third,* though this is so, and the West Hill is altogether more massive and commanding than the East, yet the original depth of the valley between them must, in the conditions of ancient war, have rendered the East Hill completely free of the West, and capable of independent occupation and defence ; and in connection with this we muainot fail to note, that while the whole of the West Hill is without natural water supply, the one good spring of the district lies immediately at the base of the East Hill in the Wady Sitti Mariam. *But, fourth,* while the East Hill is thus independent of the West Hill, the mouth of the valley between them is not. The South-west Hill absolutely commands it. These are facts which we shall find critical when we come to determine the size of the City at various periods. In the ancient conditions of war the East Hill might be held by itself independently of the West; but so soon as its inhabitants brought the waters of their only spring by the well known rock tunnel under the East Hill to the Pool of Siloam, they must for the security of the latter have held the South-west Hill as well.

3. Independence of the East Hill.

4. But not of the Pool of Siloam.

We proceed now to the two great valleys which surround the site of Jerusalem upon three sides and meet at its south-east angle : the W. Sitti Mariam or Valley of the Kidron, and the W. er-Rababi, which is most generally identified with the valley of the Son of Hinnom.

The Encompassing Valleys.

This is the present surface. Warren's highest *rock* level on the S.-W. Hill is 2532.

The Wady Sitti Mariam. Kidron Valley of the Kidron starts (as we have seen) well to the north of the present City, on the plateau, and not far from the main watershed itself. The Nablus road, slightly rising from the Damascus Gate (2474 feet, 754 m.), begins to fall again between the Dominican Church of St. Stephen and the Anglican Bishop's residence (highest point 2533 feet, 772 m.), into a shallow basin just north-west of the Tombs of the Kings. This basin on the west of the road is known as W. ej-Jaz and has a level of about 2490 feet (759 m.).[1] Descending eastward under the name W. `Akabet es-Sawan, it has fallen at the 'Anata road (600 yds. north of the north-east angle of the City) to about 2350 (7163 m.). Here it turns sharply south, running between the East Hill of the City and the Mount of Olives : about a mile and a half from the turn to the Bir EiyQb. While under the East Hill, it is known as the W. Sitti Mariam, or Valley of our Lady Mary. The name W. en-Nar, which is sometimes applied to the whole of it, properly begins after its junction with the W. er-Rababi. As, owing to the accumulations of rubbish in it, the present surface is always from to to 5o feet above the ancient bed, it will be necessary to give the rock levels ,throughout this part of its course, as well as the rock levels under the line of ancient wall along the edge of the East Hill, in order to form an idea of the depth to which the Valley entrenched the Hill.

[1] Schick's Map of the near environs gives 749 m.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROCK AND SURFACE LEVELS ON THE EAST HILL AND KIDRON VALLEY.

*** The Metres are approximate within .4.

	Rock Levels under East City WalL	Rock Levels in the Bed of the Kidron.	Levels of present Surface of the Bed of the Kidron.
s. At N.-E. Angle of City,	Feet, 2,457 Metres, 749	2,289 698	2,300 (?) 7o1 (?)
2. At Fragment of Ancient Wall before 'the Golden Gate,'	Feet, 2,339 Metres, 713	2,229 679·5	2,279 695
3. Opposite the ' Tomb of Absalom,'	Feet, 2,329 Metres, 710	2,189 667	2,229 679.5
4. At S.-E. Angle of kIaram Area,	Feet, 2,279 Metres, 695	2,169 661	2,193 668·5
5. At Well of our Lady Mary,	Feet, 2,229 Metres, 679·5	2,079 634	2,111 (?) 643'5
6. At Mouth of El-Wad under old Wall,	Feet, 2,039 Metres, 621.5	1,979 603	2,033 (?) 619'5
7. At Biz. Eiyftb,	Feet, Metres,	Below 1,929 588	1,979 603

We thus see that the rock bottom of the Kidron Valley, which is approximately at the same level as the original bed of the valley, lies from io to so feet [1] below the present surface and, at various points, iio, 140, 15o and 168 feet,[2] below the base of the ancient East Wall of the City. Moreover, the eastern bank or wall of the Wady was very much steeper than it is to-day. In some parts naturally precipitous or nearly so, in others it was scarped by the early

[1] From 3 to 15 metres.

[2] Or about 33'5, 42, 46 and 51 metres.

defeiltdcrs of the City, so as to make the whole of it practically impregnable.

The W. er-Rababi, the western and southern trench of the City's site, begins like the W. Sitti Mariam very close to the watershed itself, but much further south, viz. about 66o yards west-north-west of the

The Wady er-Rababi.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ROCK AND SURFACE LEVELS ON THE - SOUTH WEST HILL AND ON THE W. ER-RABABI.

	Rock Levels under Wall on South West Hill.	Rock Levels in the Bed of W.er-Rababi.	Levels of present Surface of W. er-Rabilbi.
t. At the Jaffa Gate,	Feet, 2,528 Metres, 770·5	2,469 752.5	Above 2,470 753
2. S.-W. Angle of Citadel,	Feet, 2,479 Metres, 755'8	2,449 746'5	Above 2,450 747
3. S.-W. Angle of pre. sent City Wall,	Feet, 2,499 Metres, 761·9	2,379 725	About 2,382 726
4. S.-W. Curve of S. W. Hill (north end of ancient scarp),	l Feet, 2,480 Metres, 756	2,339 713	About 2,349 716
5. Fragment of ancient Wall, 200 yards S.-E. of Ccenaculum,	l Feet, 2,409 rhletres, 734	2,199 670	2,202 671
6. Fragment of ancient Wall at east end of Jewish Cemetery,	l Feet, 2,279 Metres, 694'8	2,129 649	* * *
7. Gate at S.-13. angle of ancient Walls,	Feet, 2,080 Metres, 634	2,039 621·6	* * *

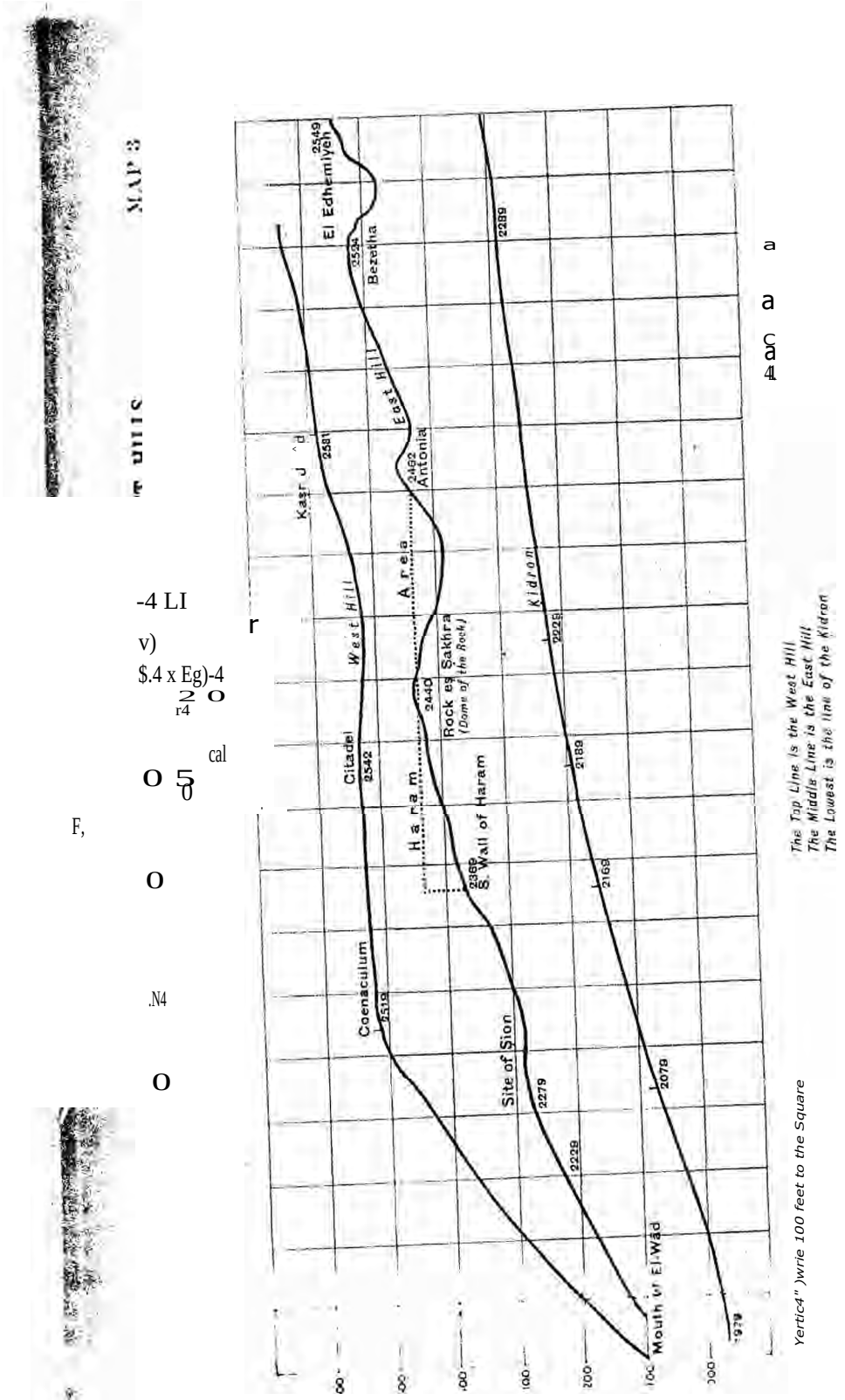
* I have left the last two spaces in the t iird column vacant, because I have been unable to determine accurately the figures. But Dr. Bliss measured Ss feet of *debris* just south of the south-east angle of the ancient walls above the.scarp and baths which he excavated.'

Excay. at */eras.*, 1894-97, 225-230, with Plate xxi. : Section A.B. Kuemmel's figure of 7.6 metres for the *debris* ' at the end' of the W. er-Rababi *(ilaterialien zur repay, des Alt. Jerus. 44)* must refer to a little further west up the W. er-Rababi.

Jaffa Gate, under the name of the W. el-Mes (Nettle-tree) at a height of about 2520 feet (768 m). Curving south as it approaches this Gate, opposite which its bed is 2470 feet high, it runs between the watershed and the South-west Hill for almost half a mile (8o5 rn.), sinking rapidly. Then sharply running east, it continues for another half mile between the South-west Hill and the Jebel Deir Abu Tor to its junction with the Kidron Valley at about 2050 feet : a fall of 42o feet (128 m.) in the mile.

In one important respect this table shows a remarkable difference from the corresponding table on the Iidron Valley. While in the Kidron the differences between the present surface of the valley and its ancient bed below were as much as from Ic) to 5o feet, the analogous differences in the W. er-RabAbi amount for the most part to only 2 or 3 feet, at one part reach 10 feet, and we do not come to a great accumulation of *debris* till we are out of the W. er-Rababi into the Kidron Valley again, opposite the south-east angle of the walls, where we find 55 feet. Whether this last is due to gradual artificial causes or to an earthquake it is impossible to say ; Dr. Bliss points out that the accumulation must be later than the Roman baths he found beneath it. But in the W. er-Rababi itself it is clear that far less *debris* has been shot than into the Kidron Valley. This goes to confirm what we shall find indicated by the history of the City, that the City on the East Hill and the walls there were older and more frequently overthrown than those on the South-west Hill. As to the difference in height between the bottom of this great western and southern trench of the City and the base of the walls on the South-west Hill immediately above it,

Different depths of *debris* in Kidron Valley and W. er-Rababi.



the table shows that at the three points selected on the western side it was respectively 59, 5o and 120 feet (about 18, 15.18 and 36·6 metres); and at the four points selected on the southern side, 210, 140, iso and 41 feet (64, 427 and 12·5 metres). This last, the smallest of the differences, is at the south-east angle of the City walls, where the South-west Hill sinks to its lowest point.

These are all the most important features of the Site of the City. In the next chapter we shall see which among them can be certainly identified with the data of the ancient topography, and what are the questions that remain over for discussion.

CHAPTER II

FACTS AND QUESTIONS IN THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY

HAVING surveyed the natural features of the Site, it will be convenient for us at this stage to separate the certain from the uncertain elements in the ancient topography : to define what points in this are practically beyond doubt, and to make a preliminary statement of questions which still form the subject of controversy, and which we shall try to answer in the following chapters.

Certain and Uncertain points in the Topography.

There is no doubt that Jerusalem always occupied in whole or in part the Site whose natural features and limits we have been tracing : the so-called East and West Hills, separated by the valley el-Wad, and bounded on the east, west, and south by the Wadies Sitti Mariam and er-Rababi. There are other towns in Palestine which in the course of their history have wholly changed their sites. This Jerusalem never has done. No one now wants to discuss whether the City ever lay outside the two encircling Wadies. These forbid, as we have seen, all expansion east, south or west. We have not to inquire, therefore, whether Jerusalem ever lay on any of the encircling hills, the main watershed, Jebel Abu Deir Tor or the Mount of Olives ; though it will

r. General Permanence of the Site.

always be a question whether, at the foot of the latter, 'Ain Silwan and its ancient caves may not represent a settlement as primitive as any within the site of the City proper. On the north of the City the questions are more open. This is the only direction in which the expansion of the City is possible. Expansion is taking place there now ; cisterns, alleged remains of walls, and the foundations of ancient churches have been found outside the present north wall in some quantity. It is, therefore, a question whether the suburb enclosed by Agrippa within the so-called Third Wall may have lain out there.[1]

Again, there is no doubt that the boundary valley on the East, the W. Sitti Mariam, is the Kidron Valley of the Old and New Testaments and of Josephus.[2] The caves at 'Ain Silwan on its East bank may (as said above) represent a primitive settlement ; but from an early point in the history of the City, the bed of the Kidron formed her eastern limit,[3] and down till the end there is no word of anything beyond it except a small village, and scattered houses and tombs. In the Kidron Valley lies the one certain spring of the district, the ' Ain Sitti Mariam, under the base of the East Hill of the City. We shall have to inquire to which of the wells named in the Old Testament it corresponds .[4] Its importance as a landmark of the Topography is second to almost none other.

Already in situ

Kidron Valley.

Nor is there any doubt that the East Hill was the Temple

1 See further on this below, p. 48.

2 Though some dist; siguish between the Valley of the Kidron, and 'the Mims of the Kidron,' .e. Wilson's 'St. Anne's Ravine.' Sandie, *Horeb and Jow.* eh. x. See Plate Iv.

3 See below, under David, Bk. iii.

4 See below, on The Waters of Jerusalem,' Bk. i. ch. v.

Hill. It is agreed that the threshing floor of Araunah, on which Solomon built the Temple, and on which the Second Temple and Herod's rose, lay some-

3. East Hill, Temple Hill and Ophel with Siloam at S. end.

where about the summit of the East Hill, the rock es-Sakhra, and that the present Haram esh-Sherif represents more or less the successive Temple areas. The following points on the East Hill are also clear. The present barracks at the north-west angle of the Haram are on the site of the castle Antonia, of Roman or Herodian times. The `Ophel was part of the slope south of the Temple. And Siloah or Siloam lay at its foot, at the issue of the tunnel which carries the waters of the 'Ain Sitti Mariam beneath Ophel to the mouth of el-Wad. Moreover, the line of the ancient wall, which ran along the East Hill above the Kidron Valley as far as Siloam, has been for parts exactly and for parts approximately ascertained.

The Middle Valley, el-Wad, between the East and West

4. El-Wad= Hills, is certainly the Tyropceon of the Roman or the Tyropceon. Herodian period. Whether it is mentioned in the Old Testament, and if so under what name or names, is a question we shall have to discuss' As will be easily understood, a good deal of the topography of the ancient City turns upon it. Some hold that the lower part of it, at least, lay outside the Old Testament City, and that it was the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom, or, The Hollow, Hag-Gai. Others think that at the very earliest period it was outside the City, which was then confined to the East Hill, but that it was brought within the walls built by the early Kings of Judah, others that it was within walls even before David.

But this raises the whole of the questions regarding the

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. vii. See Plate Iv.

South-west Hill, among the most vexed in the topography of Jerusalem. It is agreed that this Hill was all enclosed within the City Walls in the Roman

5. South West Hill, the 'Traditional Sion.'

Hill, the 'Tra- m- Herodian period, and that the present citadel by the Jaffa Gate contains one of Herod's towers; that from this a wall upon the edge of the W. er-Rababi ran round the South-west Hill on the line ascertained by Mr. Maudslay and Dr. Bliss till it met the wall down the East Hill at the south-east angle, and enclosed the mouth of the Tyropceon ; and that another wall bounded the South-west Hill along its northern edge above the ravine which sinks from the Jaffa Gate into the Tyropceon. This is the so-called First Wall. But when it was built, or rather, when the South-west Hill became an integral part of the City, is one of the serious questions in the topography of Jerusalem, subsidiary only to that which is one of the two most important, viz :- whether Sion, the Jebusite stronghold captured by David and called after him the 'City of David,' lay on the South-west Hill on the site of the present citadel, or must be placed on the East Hill and on the part called Ophel immediately above the Virgin's Spring. The former view is the traditional one, Christians having called the South-west Hill ` Mount Sion' since the fourth century, and Josephus having placed the 'City of David' on the site of the present citadel. The latter is the view of modern scholars arguing *from* the Biblical evidence. The question is so fundamental that we shall discuss it in a separate chapter'

As to the North-west Hill, there is also difference of opinion about its ind asion in the city. It is agreed that at some period subsequent to the erection of the First Wall on

Below, Bk. i. ch. vi. Sec Plates iit. and iv.

the north of the South-west Hill, and before our Lord's time, a Second Wall (as it is called) was run across the North-west Hill from near the Jaffa Gate to the castle at the north-west angle of the Haram area. But both the date and the course of this Second Wall are questions under keen debate; and, since they partly involve the question of the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, of equal importance with the questions raised by the South-west Hill. Some authorities trace the Second Wall by ancient remains on a zig-zag line to the south and east of the Church of the Sepulchre. Others, also following ancient remains, trace it to the west and the north of the Church on a line from David's tower to the Iala'at Jahld (Goliath's Castle), thence on the line of the present north wall to near the Damascus Gate, and thence south-east to the corner of the Ilaram area. Here again I only state the question : its discussion will come later.'

6. North-west Hill; the questions of its enclosure. Second Wall.

The North, where the East and West Hills merge on the plateau, we have seen to be the only direction possible for the expansion of the City, The City is rapidly extending there now. Old cisterns, the foundations of churches, and the mosaic floors of sumptuous dwellings found in considerable quantity to the north of the present wall, prove that, at least in the Roman and Christian periods, Jerusalem spread over part of the northern plateau. Where then did the Third Wall run, built by Agrippa to protect a suburb beyond the Second? Some hold that it was nearly coincident with the present north wall, others that its course lay some 530 yards to the north, where a line of wall is said to have been found.

7. The Plateau to the N. Third Wall.

[1] Below, Bk. i. ch. viii. pp. 247 ff.

This uis a minor question in the topography of Jerusalem, though not without its bearings on the others ; we shall reserve it to the Chapter on the Walls of the City'

Finally, there is the western and southern boundary of the Site of the City : the W. er-Rababi. The common opinion is that this is Hag-Gal, the Hollow, or Hollow of the Son of Hinnom, at least on its lowest and eastward stretch. But some, as we have seen, hold that Hag-Gal was el-Wad.

8. W. er-Rababi and the Valley of Hinnom.

This question, involved in that of the date of the inclusion of the South-west Hill in the City, will be treated partly under the latter, and partly in a separate chapter on the Hollow of the Son of Hinnom?

I Below, Bk. i. ch. viii.

[2] Below, Bk. i. chs. vi. and vii. See Plate III.

CHAPTER III

THE GEOLOGY

'Avarcn s' ulrt *ᴛᴡᴘ lv&SEcev thrum bato,alyav To ireptcrxeVs T71S Totaktis -yeorypalltar.—Strabo*)(iv. i. 9.

TO understand the Geology of the site of Jerusalem, and of the basin in which it lies, is necessary to the student of her history for more than one important reason. The character and disposition of the strata determine the surface and subterranean directions of the water which has fallen on the basin, with the positions of pools, streams and springs ; and on these in turn depend some of the cardinal questions of the topography. Again, the character of the water-supply, and the resources of clay, stone and metal, together with the nature of the soil, govern the economy and the industries of the City. And finally, the quality of the rock, besides influencing the architecture and ornament of the buildings, will determine, as every epigraphist who has worked in Palestine is aware, the number of surviving inscriptions, or account for their absence. In all departments of his work, therefore, the historian is dependent on the geologist.

Geology indispensable to the Historian.

Edward Robinson, who was a pioneer in this as in

everything else connected with the historical geography of Palestine, had at his disposal the scattered observations by himself and other travellers : Seetzen, Russegger, Anderson, von Schubert, and John Wilson. His description of the geology of the land, though characteristically faithful, is necessarily far from complete ;[1] and he died before he was able to add, to his outlines of the general formations and his section on earthquakes, the remarks which he intended on caverns, minerals and soils. To Jerusalem he devotes only a few sentences. Karl-Ritter had the same materials before him as Robinson; his arrangement and review[2] of them possesses the value which distinguishes all the work of this famous geographer. The outlines which these two writers traced by 186o have since then been corrected and largely filled in by a number of expert geologists and engineers. Dr. Oscar Fraas[3] not only published geological descriptions of Egypt, Sinai and Syria, but gave details, with sections, of the strata about Jerusalem. M. Louis Lortet added an immense amount of valuable material to the general geology.[4] Sir Charles Wilson, who had an opportunity of examining the structure Of the basin of Jerusalem with Dr. Fraas, and who was down every cistern in the Haram, and many others inside and outside the City, including the Hammam esh-Shefil and the Bir EiyiIb, has published summaries of the geology of Jerusalem,[5] and has kindly supplied me with

Authorities.

Apical Geography, [28]*4.*[2]*99.*

Eng. Trans'.: *The Comparative Geogr. of Palestine,* ill. 12 f., 196, iv. 183.

situ; dem Orient, Stuttgart, 1867: on Jerusalem, 5O-59.

Essai sur la glolagie de la Palestine, Paris, 1869, 1873; *Exploration gklogigne de la Afer Norte,: .'e la Palestine et de l'Iaumie,* Paris, 1877 ; and other works. Lortet's *Essay an the Formation of the Bed of the Dead Sea, etc.,* is translated by Grove in vol. iii. of Ritter's *Comp. Geog. of Pal., 351 ff.*

Especially that in his article `Jerusalem,' Smith's *D.B.* (2) i. 1588.

some valuable manuscript notes. Similarly Colonel Conder, whose examination of the site and environs has been no less thorough, has published several descriptions.' In 1888 the Palestine Exploration Fund issued their *Memoir on the Physical Geology and Geography of Arabia P etraa,Palestine, and Adjoining Districts,* by Professor Hull ; and Sir J. William Dawson included in his *Modern Science and Bible Lands*[2] an appendix on the Geology of Palestine. In 1905, the German geologist, Dr. Max Blanckenhorn, published the most detailed and illustrated study of what immediately concerns us, ' The Geology of the Nearer Environs of Jerusalem.'[3] From all these and my own observations during five visits to Jerusalem, I have corn-. piled the following description.[4] Dr. Blanckenhorn has not carried his detailed study into the region where, for our topographical purposes, it would be of most use to us —the effect of the character and disposition of the strata on the distribution of the water.

The Strata of Jerusalem exclusively limestone and chalk.

In Jerusalem and its surroundings the strata belong to well-defined limits of the geological scale. There are no rocks of primary or palozoic age ; no granite, porphyry, gneiss, nor schist ; and no volcanic rocks, lava, nor the like. The 'Nubian' sandstone, on which the limestone ranges of

i e.g. Enc. Bibl. jerus.' § 5 ; and article jerus.' in Hastings' *Diet. of the Bible,* ii. 584. [2] London, Hodder and Stoughton, 587 ff.

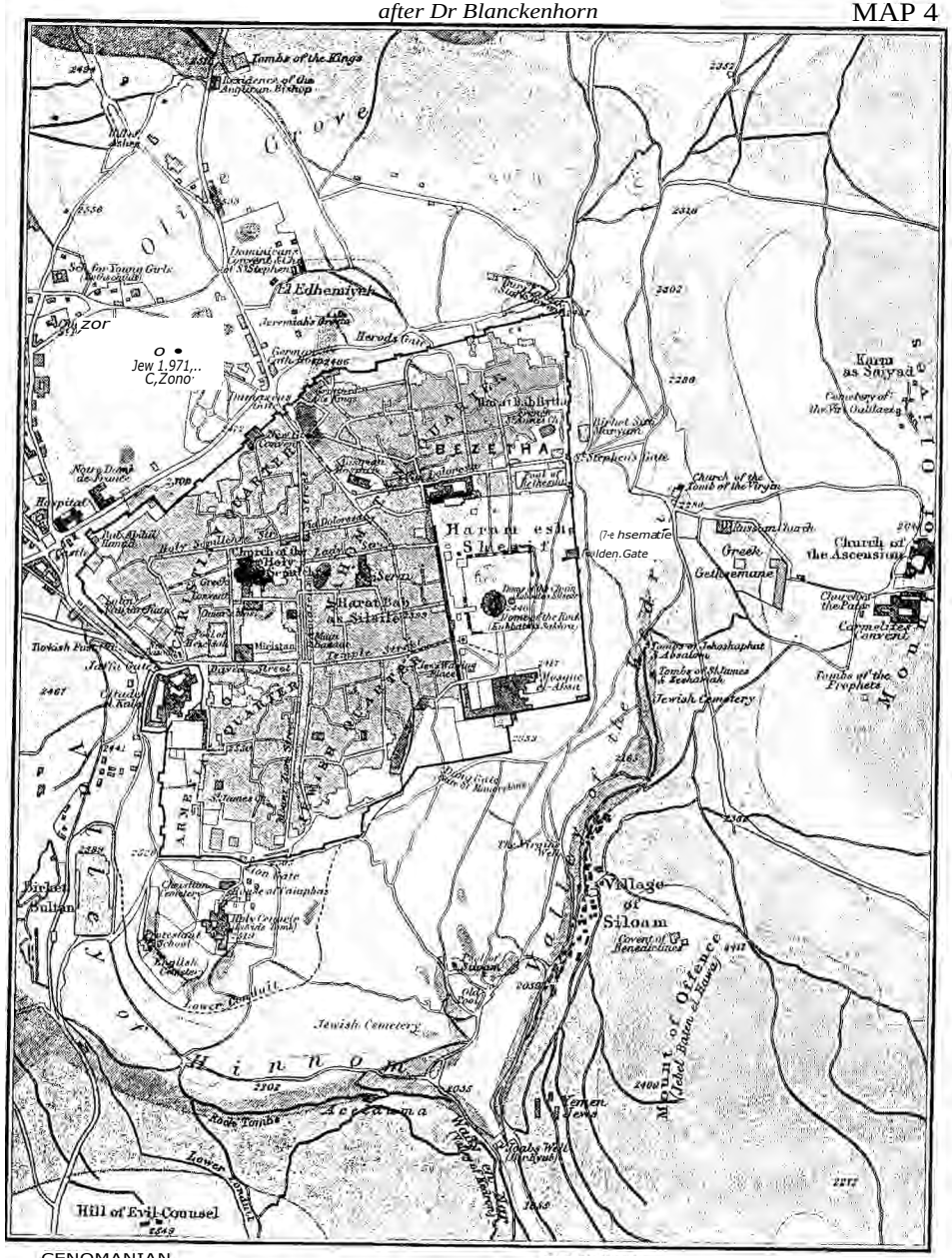
[3] *Z.D.P. h,* 1905, 75.120, with a coloured geological map and four profiles of the strata, cf. R. Sachsse *Z.D. P. V.* 1897, 1 ff.

[4] For other studies and observations before 1883 see the summary in *P.E. F. Q.* for that year of Professor Huddleston's address to the Geologists' Association, vol. viii. No. z, on The Geology of Palestine.' I have consulted also other geological notes in the *P.E.F. Q.* (especially 1887, p. 8o, by Schick) and in the *Z.D. P. V. I* regret not to have seen any of the works of Paul Lortet, given on p. 587 of Rohricht's *Bibliotheca Geogr. Palastima.*

GEOLOGICAL MAP OF JERUSALEM

after Dr Blanckenhorn

MAP 4



Syria rest, passes, it is calculated, from 1500 to 2000 feet below the City, not to appear till the further coast of the Dead Sea, where you can see it from Jerusalem refulgent in the evening sun. Everything above this in the Judean range is limestone and chalk of the secondary and tertiary systems, with a crust from the post-tertiary or quaternary. Dr Blanckenhorn has defined six or seven different formations or stages ranging from the Cenomanian of Continental geologists, the Lower Chalk of the English,' up through the Turonian and Senonian (corresponding to the Middle and Upper White Chalks of Great Britain) to the crust of calcareous breccia, which is not found in position in Britain, but still covers the summits of southern lands untouched by glacial action. The stone-masons of Jerusalem have long distinguished these varieties of rock, with the marls, bituminous limestones, and harder constituents which are found among them, and have given them the following names : *Mizzek Yekudi* and *Mizzek ' A knzar*, *Mizzeh Helu, Kalegli,* and *Nari ;* with *Haur* for the marls, *Nebi Mgsa* for the bituminous limestones, and *Mizzen ' A khdar* or *'Akkdar)Alzmar* for some marble-like varieties in the upper chalks. Employing these harmonious data of the scientific geologists and of the practical stone-workers, we may, most conveniently for our present purpose, arrange the series under four divisions and start from the highest downwards.

On the summits of Olivet and of the Hills of Offence and Evil Counsel there is a thin stratum of conglomeratic limestone of the post-tertiary Chalks—Nari period, pinkish-white in colour, soft and friable, and ha`kftli. but fireproof, known locally as *NJri,* or t Firestone." All

I, Upper

I James Geikie, *Outlines of Geology,* 327.

others crack when heated or become lime; not so this one, so all fire-places are made with it when bricks cannot be had.'[1] As the stones from it are specially light, they are used for the inner arching of vaults. With the Na'ri many take the *Ka'kgli,* as only an alternate name for it, but Schick distinguishes the two, and Blanckenhorn defines the latter as a separate Senonian stratum in two layers : an upper of soft cretaceous limestone with deposits of *Haur* or marl, which is used in mortar, and a lower more tenacious but still soft stone, used for Jewish and Mohammedan gravestones, and also in the building of houses. It is in a number of layers of these upper chalks that are found the deposits of bituminous limestone, the beautiful marble-like stone known as green or blue-green Mizzeh, as well as, the numerous flints which were used by the primitive inhabitants of Jerusalem as weapons.[2] None of these various strata are found within the City.

Below these there is a Hippurite limestone, nongranulous, with bands of flint, hard, reddish-grey, and capable of a goodpolish, a 'Nerinman marble' known locally as *Mizzia* (or *Mizzeh) helu,'* the sweet Mizzeh.' This is found within the City on the rock es-Sakhrah, and under other parts of the Haram, under the barracks, in Bezetha, in the knoll el Edhemiyeh (known as 'Jeremiah's Grotto '), and according to Conder in the 'cliff of the traditional Calvary.'[4] Outside the City it may be seen at the railway station, in the W. er-Rababi, and in the lower strata of Olivet along the

2. Turonian, Hippurite Limestone—Mizzi helu.

[1] Schick, *P.E.F.Q.,* 2887, 5o; cf. Fraas, 57.
[2] Germer-Durand, *L' Age de Pierre en Palestine.—Rev. Bib.* 2897, 439.
a I cannot get the meaning of this term : Can it be from mazz, to suck, with the signification porous? Fraas, 53, takes it from mazz, to excel.
[4] Hastings' *Dia. of the Bible, ii.* 584.

Icidron. It has been measured in depths from 72 to 82 feet (22 to 25 m.). The colossal stones of the Haram wall, and•the stones of some of the churches, are of this rock. It is quarried at the present day from the Frank Mountain, principally for the larger stones round the windows and doors of houses.

Below this Upper Mizzeh lies a stratum of granulous limestone or.' marble,' also called Hippuritel by some : a white chalk with a rosy complexion, so soft under-ground that it can be cut with a knife, but hardening upon exposure and therefore valuable for building ; locally known as *Meleki,'* Royal.' Its breadth averages 328 yards (300 m.), its depth about 35 feet, and it forms the basis of the whole City. ,The great quarries under Bezetha (' The Cotton-Grotto '), the deeper cisterns beneath the Temple area, and other cisterns of the City have been excavated within it, being reached from the surface by narrower shafts through the harder Upper Mizzeh.[2] According to Blanckenhorn it forms the rock under the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Some of the scarps under the Wall above the W. er-Rababi, the Pool of Siloam, the caves under the village of Silwan, the base of the so-called Tomb of Absalom, the pyramid of Zechariah, and other monuments in the Kidron valley, are of this rock. It is also found on the surface of the Bukei`a and on the Bethlehem road by the English eye-hospital, fr,otn which it extends into the W. er-Rababi.

? an granulous Limestone-Meleki.

Below the Meleki lies a harder Cenomanian limestone, partly dolomitic, known like the rock above the Meleki by

1 Genuine Hippurites' says Blanckenhorn, ' I have not recognised in Meleki.' Ile calls it a Rudistenmarmor.' On the contrary Fraas, 52.
[2] Schick, *Z.D.P.V. i. 240.*

the name of *Mizzi* or *Mizzeh,* but distinguished locally as *Mizzeh Yehudi* or Jewish Mizzeh ' ; *Mizzeh 'Ahmar* or red Mizzeh,' and *Der Mini,* from a village where there are quarries of it. These names represent three distinct divisions of it. *Mizzen Yekudi* is dark grey, sometimes of a yellowish, sometimes of a reddish complexion, with veins of calcareous spar and occasionally instead of pure limestone, dolomitic limestone, and genuine finely crystallised dolomite.' At the present day it is the stone most used for building,'[1] yet the hardest stone in. Palestine, a cold compact limestone, most difficult to work, chisels of finest tempered steel breaking on it like glass.'[2] It lies directly under the Meleki. Of the *Mizzeh 'Ahmar* there are two varieties, a limestone irregularly red, found on the watershed, where it may be traced in the graves of the Nikophorieh, in Hinnom and the Birket es Sultan and elsewhere, much used in building and to be seen in the columns of the Bethlehem Basilica ; and a crystalline limestone or real marble with glistening grains of a quite regular red,'[3] not found in Jerusalem. The *Der Mani* is a laminated limestone (Plattenkalk), grey or reddish, used for lintels and the outer stones of arches. All these divisions of the Lower Mizzeh, when they appear on the surface, resist atmospheric influences and are hardy rocks ; they form the foundation of many of the cultivated terraces. The inference is that underground they (or some of them) resist or divert the waters which penetrate to them through the Meleki. Yet they are divided and streaked with layers of soft limestone marls, useful, when they break to the surface, in forming soil, and below

4. Cenomanian Limestone—Lower Mizzeh.

[3] Blanckenhorn.

[2] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archccol. Researches,* ii. 225 f. Schick, /.9c. cit., also calls it the hardest.'

[3] Blanckenhorn.

easily permeable by water. As the strata appear (on Dr Blanckenhorn's coloured map) in the Kidron Valley a little to the north of the Virgin's Spring, they probably extend thither from the Hinnom valley right under the City. But how much of the marl they contain, or whether they are at all fissured and broken, as they are sometimes in their outcrops, we do not know. We shall have to take this into consideration when we inquire into the character of that fountain and the reason of its position.

All these strata are disposed with tolerable regularity. Dr. Blanckenhorn says : The disposition of all the strata which here make their appearance remains on the S. of Jerusalem, within the town itself, and on the N. in general the same.' But while (as we have seen) the watershed in passing the basin of Jerusalem forms a curve or bow with its opening eastward, the groups of strata which compose the ground of the basin are so extended as to form a curve in the opposite direction, with its opening westward (as Dr. I3lanckenhorn's coloured map clearly shows). There are no noteworthy distortions, nor any faults,' and no intrusive dykes. It is worth noticing,, again, with regard to the bearing of the geology on the water-distribution, that according to Dr. Blanckenhorn's observations, the soft Meleki limestone appears to reach its lower limit exactly at the Bir EiyUb in the Kidron Valley. Finally, with a few min& interruptions, the strata all dip regularly eastward or south-eastward, at a general angle of Id', thus forming what we have seen to be the eastward decline and expsure of the city's site, as well as giving both the surface and underground waters of the basin their main bent in that direction.

Regular Dis position of these Strata.

Their Dip, E. S. E.

Before we get entangled among the topographical questions which are connected with the waters, it will be well to discuss these in their purely geological relations, particularly with regard to the possibility of natural springs or fountains.

Very little of the water which falls on the earth's surface finds its way immediately to surface beds of rock or clay impervious enough to hold it up in the form of lakes or streams ; the most is absorbed in the first instance in the ground. Where the upper strata, as in the basin of Jerusalem, are all of porous chalk, capable of retaining water to a third of their own bulk and passing the remainder downwards, there is no opportunity for the formation of tarns or rivulets except for a short period after a heavy downpour. As we shall see, the historical evidence reveals no lake or stream at Jerusalem, with the exception of the *nahal, or fiumara,* or winter-brook of the Kidron, the lowest or most easterly of the valleys of the basin, where (as we have seen) the lower, impervious limestone appears in the bed of the wady.

Opportunity for lakes or streams.

Sometimes the porous rocks, such as those of which at least the upper strata of our basin are composed, when they have absorbed water beyond their power to retain it, will ' weep' or ' sweat' it forth again above the surface where they crop out from this, or where the hollowing of a valley lays them bare, or underground where a natural fissure or artificial receptacle has been formed. There are many instances of this percolation upon, under, and around the site of Jerusalem. Some at least of the water which gathers in the bed of el-Wad, in the Ejammam esh-Shefa and in the Bir Eiyab, are demonstrably due to this surface percolation. But we

Surface Percolation.

may easily mistake its effects in a gathering of water for those of a real spring or fountain, particularly if it takes place, as now in el-Wad, beneath a mass of rubbish.

Springs or fountains proper, which originally are due, of course, to the percolation of water through porous strata, happen only when the watery content of these is refused further passage underground by impermeable underlying rocks and somehow or other is forced up to the surface. But springs may vary from something very little different from percolation to forms quite distinct and separate. For instance, water absorbed by one of the softer superficial strata, and finding no passage downward because the underlying stratum is impermeable, may with the softer stratum itself, and without ever having left it, emerge on the side of a valley, where the softer stratum is exposed and truncated. Except by their waters being concentrated in a single outlet, such openings do not differ from the percolation sketched above. Others spring from greater depths, where a water-laden stratum has encountered an uprise of impervious rock, along whose ascent its contents make way by their own pressure to the surface. Others, found mainly in regions of massive rocks like granite, are formed of water which has found its way downward by long cracks and fissures, often to great depths ; whence, encountering other fissures of easier gradient or lower issue than those by which it Ms descended, it also reaches the surface by its own pressure.

Springs or Fountains proper.

Now in and around Jerusalem, with its exclusively limestone geology, there is no possibility of this last, and generally deepest, kind of spring. Our consideration is limited to the other two. And the sole question which arises geologically, is

Are there any in Jerusalem?

whether either of these forms of spring proper is present, or whether any underground gathering of water or its issue to the surface may more scientifically be described as due to percolation only. It is on the latter ground that some authorities on the topography have doubted the existence in or about Jerusalem of any spring properly so-called,[1] and that others refuse the name to the Virgin's Fountain.[2] The question is one of difficulty, both because of the nearness of all the possible springs to the surface of the strata from which they spring, and because (as I have shown) the shallowest form of spring proper is not easily distinguishable from the results of mere percolation. But it will turn upon the question of the presence among the limestone strata of one more or less impermeable by water, below the porous others. Now the lowest of the strata, the Cenomanian, *Mizzen Yehudi* and *'Ahmar,* is (as we have seen) at least in part a hard stone, insensible to rain or other atmospheric influences when lying on the surface, and therefore presumably able underground to withstand and divert the passage of water from the softer strata above it. But this harder limestone underlies the City, and forms in part at least the bed of the Kidron valley, in which precisely the disputable springs of Jerusalem are found.

We have up to this been considering the constant factors in the geology of Jerusalem, but before we can complete our subject we must discuss a possible factor of disturbance introduced among them by Earthquakes. This leads to so many questions both of topography and mythology, that we devote to it a separate chapter.

Earthquakes.

[1] Sir Charles Wilson in an MS. communication to the author.
[2] See below, p. 87 ff.

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CHAPTER IV

EARTHQUAKES, SPRINGS AND DRAGONS

Kat *lOo0 15wval Kat 86pupos, Opovra2 Kat cretabt6s, rcipaxos* girt *yijs, ocal 15o0 560 Spcircorres kceyaXot groymn rpo iX0ov cii.406repot* raXate4p. [Apocryphal] Esther xi. 4 f.

And, behold, noises and tumult, thundering: and earthquake, uproar upon the earth; and, behold, two great dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight.

THIS is necessary to explore, so far as materials exist for the purpose, the subject of earthquakes in Jerusalem, not only because of the certain influence of these upon the fortunes of the City and her buildings, but because of their possible effects upon the geology we have been studying, and especially upon the water-springs, on the positions of which so much of the topography turns: And as in the name of one of the springs there is a remnant of the ancient mythology about earthquakes, we must learn what we can of this latter subject.

Extent of the Subject.

Here again Edward Robinson led the way in an instructive section on earthquakes in his *Physical Geography.* Admiral Smyth, in his valuable memoir *The Mediterranean,*[1] has a number of observations and on earthquakes experienced by himself and others within the great basin of which Syria is the eastern

The Materials Authorities.

[1] Lonaon, 1854.

01

slope. In Diener's monograph on the physical geography of Central Syria, entitled *Libanon,* there is a list of earthquakes in that region.' But with the view of checking and increasing their data, I have looked through, besides the Bible and Apocryphal and Apocalyptic works, — the latter of which are especially instructive on the mythology of earthquakes, a subject practically untouched by modern scholars—Pliny and Strabo, Appian, Polybius and Dion Cassius, Jerome's works, the early histories of the Church, the French collection of Historians of the Crusades, Robricht's *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,* a number of recent Travels through Syria, and Dr Chaplin's meteorological records ; besides Von Hoff's *Chronik der Erdbeben* and Perrey's Memoir.' On the general subject of earthquakes, I have consulted Prof. James Geikie's *Outlines of Geology,* and I have communications from Sir Archibald Geikie and Sir Charles Wilson as to the effects on water supplies. Beyond some hints in that extremely useful work by Stark on Gaza and the Philistine Coast,' I found nothing in modern writers on the religion and mythology of the Semites as to the influence of earthquakes, althqugh these have been so frequent in the natural history of Syria, • and so impressive upon the religious feelings of her inhabitants.

Through those periods of the history of Syria of which we have records, we find earthquakes frequent and destructive. Northern Syria and its cities, especially Urfa (Edessa), Aleppo, Antioch and Hamath, the skirts of the Lebanons and

Lines of earthquake, Syria.

Libanon, Grundlinien der phys. Geogr. u. Geol. von Mitlelsyrien. Wien, 1886 ; 258 ff. [2] *Memoires, publ. par l'Academ. de Belg.* xxii.

[3] *Gaza u. die philistdische "Caste,* Jena, 1852.

the Jordan valley, the coast of Palestine and its cities from IteirCa to Ascalon and Gaza, have been especially scourged by them.' But just as, in South America, the Chilian coast of the Pacific is devastated by earthquakes, while the Andes to the east altogether escape or are little shocked, so while the maritime plain of Palestine and the volcanic districts in the Jordan valley have suffered ruinously from the disturbances, the Judwan range between them has been far less visited.' It is singular,' says Robinson, how amid all the terrific earthquakes with which Syria has been afflicted for so many centuries, the City of Jerusalem has been comparatively spared, in consequence perhaps of its position and distance from the volcanic regions.' That the Greek and Latin historians do not include Jerusalem among the many Asiatic cities which they record as ruined by earthquakes in the centuries immediately before or after the birth of Christ, may be due to the fact that they were comparatively so ignorant of her affairs. But when we take the period of the Crusades, to the historians of which Jerusalem was the central point of interest, we find that of all the convulsions recorded on the coast or in North Syria, only two are definitely said to have affected Jerusalem.'

Still the immunity of Jerusalem was only comparative. Besides being visited at irregular intervals by fits and starts of earthquake, the City has suffered several convulsions of disastrous magnitude. Oc one of these which happened in Uzziah's reign, the tremors and the ruins it left are visible through the

Earthquakes in Judam.

Diener, *at. cit.* 26o.

[2] Unfortunately for our present quest Diener's statistics are confined to Middle and North Syria, and do not extend to Judea.

[3] Riihricht, *Gesehichte des Kiinigreichs Jerusalem,* 59, 200, 224, 228, 2I5, 290, 348, 682, 695, 993.

prophetic writings of the eighth century,' while the memory of it lasted into the Christian era. The description by Josephus, whether really of this earthquake or not, is at least evidence of the havoc which some shaking of the earth had caused before his day to the site of Jerusalem.[2] Before,' that is, on the east of, the City, at what is called Eroge,'[3] that is Enrogel, half of the mountain broke off from the remainder on the west, and rolling four furlongs came to a stand at the eastern mountain, till the roads as well as the King's Gardens were blocked.' This means at least that at some time before the other great earthquake, of which Josephus knew, the East Hill and the Kidron valley had suffered from geological disturba7ces of considerable severity. The other earthquake he describes, took place in Judaea, in the seventh year of the reign of Herod,' 31 B.C., and brought a great destruction on the cattle in that country : about ten thousand men also perished by the fall of houses.[4] The account in Matthew's Gospel of what happened at the Crucifixion at least implies the liability of Jerusalem to severe shocks during the first century of our era.[5] We know nothing of the effect on Judeea of the great earthquakes which devastated Asiatic cities in B.C. 62, A.D. 17, 115[6] (which destroyed Antioch), 320, 419.[7] But Socrates and Sozomen describe an earthquake in 362 A.D., which tore up the stones of the old foundations of the Temple' of Jerusalem, and threw

[1] Amos iv. 11, viii. 8 ; Isaiah ix. 9, xxix. 6. Cf. Zech. xiv. 4 f.

[2] Ix. *Ant.* x. 4. [3] IIpIsTq *icallovitivv'Epwril ('E0475).* [4] *xv. Ant. v.* 2.

5 Matt. xxvii. 51, 52. Cf. Jerome epist. 15o *ad Hedibiam* and the story of the fissure created in Calvary by the earthquake, with all that was afterwards told of this, in Quaresmius, *Elueidatio Terra Sancta,* lib. v. cap. xli.

Strabo, xii. 8, 18 ; Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* ii. 86(84); Tacitus, *Ann,* ii. 47; Dion Cassius, lvii. 17; lxviii. 24.

7 Marcellinus, *Chran.* p. 38, quoted by Von Hoff.

down the houses and public porticos' near its site' The Christians interpreted this by the anger of God at the Emperor Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple. In the infancy of Jerome, there were heavy shocks in Moab, destroying the walls of Areopolis,[2] but neither of them, nor of the great earthquakes in Justinian's time, 526 and 551 A.D.,[3] the first of which destroyed Antioch, the second Beirftt and other Syrian towns, do we hear that they affected Jerusalem. In the early Moslem centuries there were at least eight great earthquakes in Syria, 631, 658, 713, 718, 746,[4]-856, 1016, and 1034.[5] The two last must have worked great havoc in Jerusalem ; for the colonnade of Ibn Tahir, described by Mukaddasi in 985, on the north of the 'Ak:f.a mosque, is not mentioned by Nasir-i-Khusrau in 1047, and while the former counts 15 gates along the north side, and II on the east, the latter gives only 7 and io respectively.[6] By earthquakes in 1105 and 1113,[7] but apparently not by those of 1115, 1138, 1157, 1170, 1182, Jerusalem was damaged. I find no mention of damage by earthquakes of the sixteenth and two following centuries.[8] In 1834 a spasm 'shook Jerusalem, and injured the Chapel of the Nativity at Bethlehem' ; while the great earthquake of 1837, which overthrew Safed; and shattered the walls of Tiberias, was felt as far as Bethlehem and Hebron." Between 186o and 1882 Dr. Chapiin observed in the City twelve shocks, apparently not serious.

Sac iii. 20 ; Soz. V. 22 ; cf. Gibbon, ch. xxiii.

Jetome on Is. xv. ; cf. Perrey, p. 5.

a Theophanes, p. 192 ; Cedrenus, p. 376, quoted by Von Hoff.

*Theophanes, 258, 320, 331, 354, quoted by Von Hoff.

I Cedrenus, 737 (Jer. shaken 4o days ; many churches fell).

[4] Guy le Strange, *Pal. under the Moslems,* 102 f. 7 Perrey, p. 16.

[6] jet', escaped the shocks of 1759, Perrey, 3o, 7o.

Robinson, *Phys. Geog.* 29$; Ritter, *Comp. Geog. ii.* 248.

The influence of earthquakes upon the history of springs is natural, and has been well attested. The difficulty begins where, as in the case of the Jerusalem springs, the records are defective. There is no doubt that by causing landslips, or creating fissure§ in the ground, earthquakes have the power to interrupt or revolutionise the drainage system of a country.'[1]

Effects of Earthquakes on Springs,

We have innumerable observations of their interference with warm springs in volcanic regions. Demetrius of Callatis reports that the hot springs of 2Edepsus in Eubcea, and of Thermopylw, were suppressed for three days, and when they began to run again those of iEdepsus gushed from new fountains.[2] Many other instances from the ancient geographers might be given. Two modern ones may be cited. About 1710 the hot springs by Tiberias are said to have remained dry, in consequence of an earthquake, for nearly three years ;[8] and the converse result happened after the convulsions of 1837, for the volume of water was temporarily increased.[4]

On Hot Springs.

But the effect of earthquakes on the much shallower cold springs is less frequent and more uncertain. The Semites, who (as we shall see presently) ideritified the untameable power of the sea with that which periodically shook their lands, and who, unlike the Greeks, imagined the sea as flowing beneath the whole foundations of the earth, and feeding the fountains of the latter, could not have failed, therefore, to think of a connection between earthquakes and springs. They do not, however, always notice it. Some passages of the Old and

And on Cold Springs.

J. Geikie, *Outlines of Geol.,* 167, R. Mallet, Herschel's *Manual of &lent. Enquiry,* 354, Perrey, 59.

[2] Quoted by Strabo, I. iii. zo; cf. *Frag. Histor,* iii. 380.

[3] Ritter (quoting Reland), *comp. Geog. ii.* **249.** [4] **Ibid.** ; Perrey, 47, *57.*

New Testament, which detail the ruin wrought by earthquakes, do not speak of the wells as affected.[1] It is uncertain whether this is intended in such sentences as : *Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of the Lord, which turneth the rock into a pool of water, the flint into a fountain. We fear not though the earth bubble and mountains shake in the heart of the* sea.[2] But in other passages the Divine power *in* shaking the earth is associated with the appearance of springs where before there were none." The Book of ,Enoch, too, appears to connect *a great convulsion,* not only with a *swelling of the waters,* which in this case are 'sulphurous springs, but with *a change of temperature in the water springs ;*[4] and the author of II. Esdras says, *earthquakes make the deeps to tremble—the* deeps which, according to the cosmogony described above, are the reservoirs of the fountains.' In most of the accounts of earthquakes by Greek and Latin geographers or historians, with which I am acquainted, no mention is made of the ordinary fountains of cities as affected,'" even where the statement of eyewitnesses is given ; but both Strabo and Pliny assert the general effect. of earthquakes in disturbing underground water-passages and changing the course of rivers,' and they cite some instances in which these particulars have happened.[8] Athena:us quotes from the *Histories* of Nicolas

Ezek. xxxviii. 29 ff. ; Rev. vi. **12,** viii. 5, xi. 13, 19, xvi. 18.

[2] Vs. oily. 8, xlvi. 2 [Eng.], the latter after Wellhausen's and Furness' trans_ Won, Polychrome Bible.

[8] Is. xli. 18; l's. cvii. 33 ff., lxxiv. **15.**

[4] Bk. of Enoch, lxvii. 5.11.
Esdr. iii. 59.

**In* none of the following by Strabo, V. iv. 9 ; VI. i. 6; VIII. vii. 2 ; XII. via. 16.19; XIII. iv. 8; XVI. ii. 26, etc.

[1] Strabo, IX. ii. 16, XV. i. 19; Pliny, II. 82 (8o).
Strabo, I. iii. 16, Arethusa by Chalcis in Eubcea, obstructed and reopened Waugh ocher vents ; XVI. ii. 7, a new spring for the Orontes.

of Damascus, that : About Apameia in Phrygia, at the time of the Mithridatic wars, earthquakes having happened, lakes appeared where none were formerly, and rivers and other fountains were opened by the motion, but many also vanished." Dion Cassius, describing the great earthquake at Antioch in 115, when Trajan was present,[2] says : Other mountains collapsed, and much water, not there before, burst up, and much that had been flowing ceased.' In the accounts of earthquakes which I have read in the early church histories, some of whose writers—like Evagrius on his marriage day at Antioch[3]—were eye-witnesses of the convulsions produced, I have not noticed any mention of the disappearance of old springs or the emergence of new ones. Yet, although these writers are often more concerned with the effect of the earthquakes in postponing Church Councils, or with their religious significance, they communicate besides a considerable amount of physical detail. There are instances, too, oc the agelong persistence of fountains in spite of frequent earthquakes. One of these Sir Archibald Geikie has quoted to me, with some observations on the general question :—

The question you ask me is one to which no confident reply either way can be given. On the one hand it is well known that springs are sometimes seriously affected by earthquakes, being closed up or opening out from new vents in the rocks underneath. On the other hand it is equally certain that even after violent earthquakes old

Athenxus, viii. ; see *Fragmenta Histor.* iii. 416.

[2] Dion Cassius; lxviii. 24, 25, the quotation is at the end of the latter section : *6on* re ithita *410;cre nal Mop* r0XlS *obe* ,4v *rporepov apecbdyn,* ,r0X6 lU *cat* /Vey *1More.*

[3] *Eccl. (list., vi. 8.* The earthquake was that of 389 A.D., and Evagrius describes its effects very fully. It is not mentioned in Perrey.

springs may continue to maintain their old exits. Of this Orsistence we have a good example in the Roman Forum. The Fons J uturna:, at which Castor and Pollux watered their horses when they came to announce the victory of Lake Regillus, is still flowing, and has recently been laid open once more to light by the removal of the church, etc., built over it. Yet during the last 2000 years Rome has been. visited by many earthquakes, some of them severe enough to shake down buildings and do much damage.' One other bit of evidence may be added. At Gezer Mr. Macalister reports the disappearance of one well and the comparatively late appearance of another, and suggests that this was due to the ,disturbance of the strata by an earthquake.'

The bearing of these data on the question of the springs, real or reputed, at Jerusalem is somewhat delicate and difficult to compute with certainty. On the one hand, Jerusalem does not lie in a volcanic conclusion such as those in which many of the above instances of the change of fountains occurred ; on the other hand, the effects of at least several earthquakes in Jerusalem were otherwise the same as I have quoted. Sir Archibald Geikie continues (it is in answer to a question I had addressed to him, more particularly with regard to the Virgin's Fountain) : I do not think much stress can be laid on the position of the Jerusalem spring. *Iteniay* have maintained its position in spite of all the earthquakes, but on the other hand it *may* have had its passage opened for it within historic time, and other springs may have existed which have had their passages closed up. Of course a close study of the ground might

Possibility of conclusion from data as to

[1] *P.E.F.Q.,* 1903, 216 ft.

enable a geological expert to express an opinion a little more definitely in one direction or the other, but I hardly think he would feel himself justified in expressing any confidence either way.' After reading a paper I published upon The Waters of Jerusalem,'[1] Sir Charles Wilson sent me the following criticism I think you have given too much weight to the effect of earthquakes on the springs. There is no trace of any important geological disturbance visible, and though a violent earthquake might have a slight 'temporary effect on the flow of the Siloam Spring, it could not from the conditions under which the spring is supplied have a permanent one. In the case of deep-seated hot springs such as are found in and near the Ghor, the case is different.' I confess that after this double witness to the impossibility of any certain conclusion, I would have abandoned my attempt to reach one, but for an additional piece of historical evidence, the value of which I have appreciated only since the paper alluded to was published. The possibility of a disturbance by earthquakes of the natural water-supply of Jerusalem is not, and cannot be denied ; on the other hand, it is clear that such a disturbance would reasonably explain some of the existing uncertainty as to the positions and characters of the historical springs or wells. But so much being granted, I think we can now argue in addition, from the name of one of these springs or wells, that one such disturbance did take place in the early history of the City. To explain this name, and the evidence I find in it, it is necessary to consider the effect of earthquakes on ancient mythology.

So frequent and serious a phenomenon in Syria must have left its stamp on the popular religion. The mono-

[1] *Expositor,* March 1903.

theism of the prophets and psalmists includes the earthquake among the signs of the Almighty's power and the instruments of His wrath upon the wicked children of men ; it is even possible that this violence was the origin of the divine name El Shadodai,[1] In any case the God worshipped by Israel holds in His hand the power that quakes the earth, and the prophetic scenes of the Divine judgment shake with its tremors and convulsions. It would be singular if the popular religions of Syria, clinging closer to the earth, and even more in awe of the violences of Nature, had not also found a place for the earthquake in their mythologies, and after their manner assigned it to some special being or beings. For proofs of this we need not go beyond the Old Testament, and the later works of Judaism ; though they have been somewhat overlooked. In the materials for their imagery which prophets or psalmists have not refused to draw from the folk-lore of their times, there figures frequently a *Dragon—Tannin,* as he is called in Hebrew. He is properly a sea-monster, born of the element which seemed to the Semites to perpetuate the turbulence and arrogance of primeval chaos. He personifies the sea : *Art thou*

Earthquakes and myth. ology.

The Dragon.

I Robertson Smith, *0. T. in the Jewish Church* (1st ed. 424), after pointing out how *the* vocalisation of the name may be due to a later mistaken etymology of it, suggests that it is an intensive form from *No* to *pour out,* and in that rtne the derivation assumed in Is. xiii. 6, Jer. i. 15, frIlm iv) would be wrong. But the. many passages in the 0. T. (outside P., in which the name Stands for the name by which God revealed Himself to the Patriarchs before His new name to Moses, Ex. vi. 3, and passages in which it is used conventionally as by Job's friends or in mere parallel to *God)* in which the nsnse is used along with the divine affliction, or violent possession, of a man (Num. xxiv. 4, 16, Ruth i. 20, 21, Ps. lxviii. 15, Ez. i. 24, x. 5 ; cf. Gen. xlix. 25, where it is associated with the *blessings of the deep),* support the derivation prn irj, and this word, meaning violence that leads to *havoc* and ***Mill,*** is often Used in connection with earthquakes or in the imagery derived from then,.

not it that ... pierced the Dragon, that dried up the sea? Am I the sea or the Dragon, that thou settest a watch over me?' And the name in the plural is given to the great sea-monsters, whales and sharks.' But we must keep in mind that the sea was supposed by the Semites to roll under the whole earth, and wash with ceaseless tides the roots of the mountains. We must remember that to the Greeks Poseidon was not only god of the sea, but the great earth-shaker as well, and worshipped as such in cities far inland;[3] and that the mythical sea-serpent Typhon filled the earth *as well as* the sea with evils,'[4] deeply furrowed the earth, and formed the bed of the Orontes,' and as he 'lay beneath the island of Prochyta and turned himself, caused flames and water to rush forth, and sometimes even small islands to rise.'[5] And we must understand that all this attribution to the same being of the powers of the sea-storm or the earthquake is due to the frequent experience of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, where in the great convulsions sea and earth rise together, and enormous ' tidal waves' accompany the earthquakes.[6] After this, we shall not be surprised to find in the Old Testament, too, that the Dragon is also the earth-shaker. *He swallows*

Isa. li. 9; job vii. 12. The definite article after the poetic fashion is omitted in the original.

[2] Gen. i. 21, and perhaps elsewhere.

[3] As Strabo points out in the case of the earthquake-riddled Apameia in Phrygia (XII. viii. 18.) : whence no doubt Ppseidonius of Apameia got his name, the geographer upon whom Strabo draws so much, and who, conformably to his name, was of all Greek philosophers the one that, next to Aristotle, contributed most to the subject of earthquakes. See Tozer, *Hist. of Ancient Geogr.,* 199. [4] Plutarch, *De Is.* 27, quoted by Stark, *Gaza,* 276.

[6] Strabo, XVI. ii. 7. (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the. Semites, 161,* in which however nothing is said of earthquakes), V. iv. 9.

[6] Strabo, I. iii. 17. f. ; V. iv. 9.; VIII. vii. 2. ; XVI. xi. 26, etc. Pliny II. 82 (8o)-88 (86); II. Esdras xvi. 12; Smyth, *The Mediterranean,* 107, sob, [5]79, 49[8].

and casts out,' he is introduced among or near other symptoms of earthquake :[2] and Psalm cxlviii. calls out definitely : *Praise the Lord from the earth* (not the sea), *ye Dragons and ye Deeps.* This association is even plainer in the Apocryphal writings : *Thou di dst shake the earth and madest the Deeps to tremble.*[3] *Behold noises and tumult, thunderings and earthquake, uproar upon the earth ; and behold two great Dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight, and their cry was great.*[4]

Moreover it was to these Dragons, as the authors of -earthquake, that both Semitic and Greek folklore attributed the appearance of springs and rivers. Dragons and Springs. Psalm cxlviii. implies this when it links the Dragons and Deeps, for it was from the *Deep that couchette beneath* that the fountains of the land were fed .° The Apocryphal I3ook of Esther associates dragons and springs in the use it makes of both in its imagery.? We have seen that the springs and bed of the Orontes, the Nahr el or River of the Rebel,' were supposed to be the work of a Dragon, and to Typhon the Greek myths attribute the issue of many springs.[8] Other springs in Syria are called by the name of Serpent,° and a Moslem legend has it that the rebel angels Harat and Martit are entombed under a well at Babylon." It is strange that

[1] Jer. Ii. 34. Here the myth has passed into political history, and the Dmon is Nebuchadrezzar. [2] Ezek. xxxii. ; Isai. xxvii. i.

[3] . Esdr. iii. 18. [4] (Apocryphal) Esther xi. 5 f.

Deut. 13. [6] Amos vii. 4.

(Apocr.) Esther x. 6 ; cf. xi. 5 f. with M.

Strabo and Pliny in the passages cited above on Typhon.

4.4r., near RIM ; Maundrell's *Journey,* 1697, under March 7.

[10] Cited by Robertson Smith, *Rel. of the Semites,* 161, from Cazwini, i. 197. Compare the curious Moslem story of the origin of the flood at Gezer : CI.-Ijanneau, *Arch. Res. ii.* 237 *ff.;* R. A. S. Macalister, *P.E.F.Q.,* 1903, 217 *f.*

these instances—and they could be multiplied—along with the prevalence of earthquakes in Syria, should not have suggested to modern writers on Semitic mythology this fruitful side of the subject of springs and religion.[1]

But now we come to the point of our argument. In Jerusalem also there was, in Nehemiah's day, a Dragon's Fountain, somewhere (as we shall see) between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate, in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. It has been identified with the modern Bir Eiyith, which is therefore also sometimes called Nehemiah's Well. But this does not suit the data which Nehemiah gives for its position. All the analogies of the name suggest a spring caused by an earthquake,' and this conclusion is supported by the fact that neither the name nor a well in that position occurs either before or after the time of Nehemiah.

The Dragon-Spring at Jerusalem.

One, therefore, inclines to the probability that we have here, at Jerusalem, a case of a spring opened by earthquake —Uzziah's or another—and afterwards disappearing, as so many wells thus caused have done. But this gives further ground to believe that earthquakes *may* have affected the other springs of Jerusalem ; which result of our examination of the subject of earthquakes and springs we carry over into our next chapter on the Waters of Jerusalem.

Earthquakes may have changed the Jerusalem Springs.

On 'voices,' bellowings," groans, 'etc., in earthquakes see a number of citations from Greek and Latin writers in Bochart's *Phaleg,* bk. i. ch. 8, pp. 408 ff.

[2] Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* coll. 1132, 1133, seeks to show that since there are two classes of serpent-myths, one which takes the reptile as hostile, the other as friendly, to man, and serpents are often associated with wells, Nehemiah's Dragon Spring must belong to the latter. But this is a case, not of a serpent, but of the Dragon, a monster, who is never friendly to man.

CHAPTER V

THE WATERS OF JERUSALEM

IN the introduction to this volume some account has been given of the water-supply of Jerusalem. But a more detailed examination of the hydrography is needed to prepare us for the discussion of the topographical problems. Nowhere so much as in the East do such problems depend on the position and possible alteration of the water sources ; but in the case of Jerusalem, the meagreness of these enhances their topographical importance to a degree unusual, even in the Orient. In fact we cannot describe them without at once tarting some of the most radical questions concerning the place-names of the City and her environs. The study will also furnish us with material for our subsequent discussion of the economy of Jerusalem : the endowment of the site in the necessaries of human life.

Topographical and Economic Importance of the Subject.

The authorities on the subject are almost too numerous to mention. I confine myself to the principal. Robinson, as elsewhere, ought to be carefully studied ;[1] although his treatment of the subject is warped by his erroneous location of Gil:lon on the west of the city, and although like Tobler[2] he worked before the days of

Authorities.

Biblical Researches, i. ii. ; Later Bibl. Res. 196 ff. 243 ff.

[2] *Topogr. von Jerusalem, ii.* 84 ff.

excavation. Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Colonel Conder, and M. Clermont-Ganneau afford the first results of the latter in the volume of the Survey Memoir on Jerusalem,' in many papers in the Quarterly Statement, and in other works.[2] Some materials are supplied by Pierotti, an Italian architect employed by the local authorities .[3] Then come the results of a life-long inspection and study of the springs, pools and aqueducts by Dr. Schick, the practical architect and high authority on the topography of Jerusalem ;[4] the results of Dr. Guthe's excavations on Ophe1,[5] Dr Bliss's excavations on the South-west Hill and at Siloam ; ° a paper by Dr. Masterman, a resident for some years in the City ;[7] Dr. Guthe's article in Hauck's *Realentydopiidie;*[8] and a summary of results in Kuemmel's Materials for the Topography of ancient Jerusalem.[9] Except for certain stretches of the two long-distance aqueducts, the centre of the Siloam Tunnel, Warren's Shaft, the Hammam esh-Shefa and the bottom of the Bir Eiyilb, which I have not examined, the following study is based on my own observations made during my five visits to the city. For the measurements where they are not taken from the Fund Memoir, references are given below.

1 P.E.F. Mem., Jesus.'

[2] Especially *The Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871) 233 ff., and Wilson, *The Water Supply of Jerusalem,* an address to the Victoria Institute, 26th May 1902 ; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archoolo$_g$ical Researches in Palestine, vol. i.* ; Conder's and Warren's Articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* Wilson's in the 2nd ed. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible ;* and that by Robertson Smith, Conder, and the present writer in the *Enc. Bi6l.*

[3] *ferusalem Explored;* to be used with discrimination.

[4] *Z.D.P. V i.* (1878) 132 ff. : Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' with a Map and Plans. [6] Id. *vol. v.* with plans.

[6] *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 1894.1897, especially [2]4, 53, chs. ii.—v. and ix.

[7] *Biblical World,* 1902. [8] VOL viii. 1900.

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I. THE RAINFALL AND OTHER NATURAL CONDITIONS.

The natural causes which affect the water-supply of Jerusalem are four ; three of which may be regarded as practically constant : the Rainfall, the Height and Shape of the Basin in which the City stands, and its Geological Formation ; and one which, as we have seen, introduces some uncertainty into the subject, the Earthquakes that have periodically rocked the foundations of the City.

Natural Conditions of the Water-Supply.

We have seen that the average rainfall upon Jerusalem is rather over 25 inches (practically 635 millimetres), or about as much as that of London ; but that it 1. The falls in winter only, and leaves a long summer drought. One calculation of thirty-two years' observations at a station within the walls gives 25.23 inches (64o.8 mm.), another on thirty-nine years gives 26.05 (661.8 mm.).'

I Besides Chaplin's, article quoted above, p. 18 *n.* 5, see Glaisher On t Fall of Rain at Jerus., 1861-1892,' *P. E. F. Q.,* [18]94, 39 ff. ; in subsequent volumes Glaisher's collections of observations since 1392 ; H. Hilderscheid, ' Die Niederschlagsverhaltnisse Palfistinas in alter u. neuer Zeit,' *Z.D.R. V. xxv. (1902),* 1 ff. ; also Ifenzinger 1904, 78 ff. and other papers. Both Chaplin and Hilderscheid present the Biblical data, the latter more fully along with those from the Mishna. The longest series of observations, those of Dr. Chaplin, continued by Mr. J. Game', were taken ' in a garden within the City, about 2500 feet above the sea.' Glaisher reckons from them the average of 25·23 inches. They differ curiously from others take for a period of three years at a lower station in the German Colony on the Bul51'a to the S.-W. of the City ; and from a third series, taken on a higher point, the Syrian orphanage to the N.-W. of the City. Hilderscheid (p. 34) 'calculates the average of thirty-nine years, as taken at the first of these stations, 66r8 mm. (26·o5 ins.), and those at the two others reduced to the same 1.4v as respectively 547'2 mm. (25'54 ins.) and $_{579'4}$ mm. (22'41 ins.). The difference may be due to the different instruments ; but Hilderscheid adds the report of a resident, that it frequently rains within the City when only a few drops fall at the German colony ; also the reverse case was already observed.'

Did the rainfall in ancient times differ from this ? The Old Testament data are, of course, not specific, but at least sufficient to justify a negative answer. Some authorities on the climate and fertility of Palestine have, indeed, argued that, as in the Mediterranean basin as a whole, so throughout Palestine in particular, the climate has suffered a change for the worse through the diminution of the rainfall? One of the reasons given for this conclusion is the alleged decrease of the woodlands of the country. I have, elsewhere shown that in all probability these were never much greater on Western Palestine than they are to-day.[2] The other natural features by which the rainfall is influenced—the position of the City relatively to the sea, and the prevalent winds—have remained the same ; while the references to climate and weather in the Bible and the Mishna are fully consistent with the present conditions. We may conclude, therefore, that the rainfall upon Jerusalem in ancient times must have been very nearly the same as it has been observed to be during the last forty-six years.s Even if it was a little greater, the difference cannot have been of much practical moment.

[1] So Hull, *Memoir on Phys. Geology and Geogr. of Arabia Petroa, Palestine, etc.* (in the *P.E.F. Memoirs),* pt. v. ch. ii. ; Th. Fischer, *Studien fiber das Klima der Mittelmeerlander in* Petermann's *Mittheilungen, erganz. heft* 58, p. 41 ; and Zumoffen, La *Mitlorologie de la Palestine, etc.,* in the *Bulletin de la Societe de Geogr.* 1899, 467. Cf. Blanckenhorn, *Z.D.P.V.* xv. 8, 4o, and Buhl, *G.A.P. 54* f. See also 0. Fraas, *Aus dem Orient, i. 196.*

[2] *H.G. L,* 8o *ff.*

[3] Among those who agree that the climate has not much changed, or is virtually the same as in ancient times, are Robinson, who does not argue the question, but generally assumes this answer, or illustrates it *(e.g., B. R.* ii. 97, *Phys. Geog.* 263, 267, 279 f.); similarly Thomson *(L. and B.* 90 f. 395, etc.), and Chaplin, who notes at least the harmony between Scripture references and present conditions, *op. cit.* ; Lortet in the Due de Luynes's *Voyage d'Exploralion a la Mer Morte, etc.,* ill. 212 ; Conder, *P.E.F.Q.,* 1876, 131 *ff. ;* Ankel, *Grundage der Landesnatur des Westjordanlandes,* iv. Das Klima ; Rindfleisch, *Z.D.F.V. xxi.* 46 (very sensible remarks on the subject) ; with great force of detailed argument, Hilderscheid, *Id. xxv.* 99 ff. ; and Guthe (` Pallistina ' in liauek'5 *Realencycl. far prof. Theol. u. Kirche,xiv. 590* ff.), who admits, however, a decrease in the woodland, and in consequence a possible diminution in

ti This rainfall of about 25 inches annually happens upon a large basin, from brink to brink some 21 to 3 miles by to 1, which lies on the summit of a mountain range. The highest levels of the basin are from 2600 to 2700 feet, the lowest under 2000 feet, above the sea. The fall is therefore for the most part very rapid. The principal hollows by which the basin is drained, begin above the City (as we have seen), deepen round or through its site, and join below its south-east angle upon the one outlet towards the Dead Sea. The City, therefore, is placed where any water that falls in the basin, and runs on or near its surface, must gather before leaving it. Here, then, is one of the reasons why Jerusalem stands exactly where she does. A large town is less possible anywhere else on this part of the range. But while enough water falls within the basin to sustain, if not her full population, yet a considerable one, the limits of the basin, the nearness of the watershed and the rapid slope forbid the formation of any stream or lake.

3. The Basin of Jerusalem.

A more efficient cause for their absence, however, we have already seen in our examination of the geology of the district.[1] In the upper strata of this formation no hard impervious rocks are found, but the soft porous limestone greedily absorbs the rain, and that is the full reason why neither lake no steady stream has ever blessed the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Pools formed by the winter rains soon

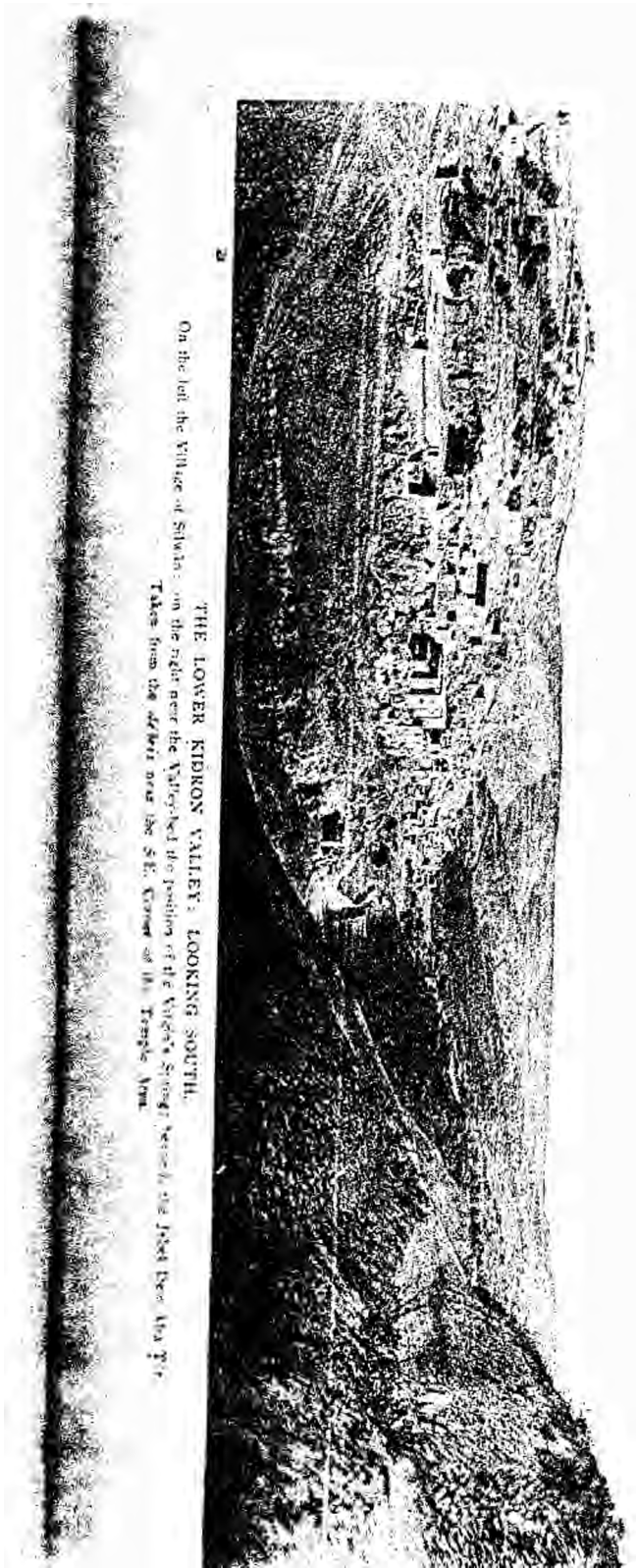
3. The Geology.

[1] Chapter iii.

disappear [1] and there are but one or two quickly-drying swamps.[2] Except for a brief interval after heavy down-bursts of rain, water does not run above ground outside the Kidron Valley. It is in the latter therefore that we must seek for the only stream of the district of which we read in the ,Bible—not of course on the present bed of the valley, which is of shot rubbish, but some 30 feet below,

The Brook

and 240 to the west. Here the rock—porous as it still is, but with impervious strata immediately below, which tend to turn the waters back—has been found to be moist and in parts covered with mud,[3] while wherever it is exposed it bears marks of having been swept by occasional torrents.[4] Opposite the City these are quickly absorbed by the *dlbris ;* but lower down, beyond the Bir Eiyab, they will flow on the surface for several days at a time after the heavy rains of spring.[5] This is the only approach to a stream which is now found in the environs of the City ; that it was not otherwise in ancient times is proved by the literature. We have seen Strabo's emphasis on the aridness of the surroundings, and that Dion Cassius gives a still more vivid account of the stagnancy of the water on which Titus had to draw in the neighbourhood.[6] In none of the other classical authorities is there any reference to a perennial stream. Josephus, who several time mentions the Kidron,



THE LOWER KIDRON VALLEY: LOOKING SOUTH.

On the left the Village of Silwan; on the right near the Valley-bed the position of the Virgin's Spring; beyond, the Jebel Deir Abu Tor.
Taken from the débris near the S.E. Corner of the Temple Area.

I Schick mentions one which gathers every winter for a few weeks near the Nablus road, north of the City, *P.E.F.* Q., 189z, 9 ; but this is due to the remains of an artificial pool : see below, p. 519.

See above, p. x6.

[8] *Recoveoy of Jerusalem,* **135.**

[4] Cf. Robinson, *B.R. i.* **402.**

[6] Thomson, *L. and B., 659;* 'gushing out like a millstream' ; *P.E.F. Mon.,* 'Jerusalem,' 375 ; Masterman, *Bibl. World,* 19o2, 89 f.

[6] Above, p. 16.

detcribes it generally as a valley or gorge, and once by the Greek word for winter' or storm torrent,'[1] by which it is also called in the New Testament.[2] It is in this sense that we must take the Hebrew term *nalial* as applied to the Kidron in the Old Testament.[3] Translated *brook* in our versions, *nalial* means no more than a valley down which a transitory stream may flow after heavy rain ; and in fact the Kidron is only referred to in the Old Testament as something to be crossed or passed up, or as a place for casting out rubbish : except in one verse which, if the text be sound, speaks *of the N a4al which rushes* or *gushes in the midst of the land.*[4] But this description is very suitable to the present outbursts after the winter rains below the Bir Eiyilb. That before the bed of the Wady was choked with *debris* these began further up, opposite the City, is very probable. In ancient times when the water of the present Virgin's Spring ran into the Wady, there must have been a fitful rill even in the dry season. In the light of this it becomes significant that the Chronicler should include the *natal which gusheth* or *overfloweth through the midst of the land* with *the fountains outside the City* that Hezekiah sealed up ; for, as we shall see, it was in all probability this king who diverted the water of the Virgin's Spring by a tunnel *to a* pool within the City. It is true that water has sometimes been found by excavators running down the

Vali/36p or *(5 Kea par'* simply v. *B.J.* vi. I, vii. 3, xii. z ; *4dpa-yE* ix. *Ant.* vii. rt, li. 3, iv. 2, Vi. I, vi. ⊆-j iii. 2 ; LL/41500S *or—dppor viii. Ant. i.* 5.

*John xviii. I, *KoSpeov.*

* 5115: 2 Sam. xv. 23, I Ki. xv. 13, **2 Ki.** xxiii. 6, 12, Jer. xxxi. 4o,

2 Chr. xv. 16, xxix. 16, xxx. 14. Or 511]n alone, *the* Wady *par excellence,* Chr. xxxiii. 14, Neh.

4 2 Cbron. xxxii. 4.

rock-bed of the Tyropceon.[1] But the fact that the Kidron is called in two passages *the* Nahal, and that no other Jerusalem Valley gets the name, implies that neither in the Tyropceon nor elsewhere about the City was there a flow of water worthy of even the name *storm* or *winter-brook*.[2]

The last paragraph has already brought us to the subject of the Springs of Jerusalem. Before beginning this we must recall the great uncertainty introduced into it through the possible disturbance of the subterranean drainage by earthquakes. From our investigation of these,[3] the conclusion was reached

4. Earthquakes and Springs.

Recovery of Jerus., 77 ; Warren here sums up his experiences as follows : It would appear then that there is still a stream of water, whether from rainfall or from springs, percolating through the Tyropceon Valley.' Warren was working after heavy rain ; but we must keep in mind also the leakage and overflow from Hezekiah's Pool and other reservoirs in the north-west of the City.

[2] The passage to which 2 Chron. xxxii. 4 belongs is a difficult one, and objections have been taken to it. But that it represents a sound tradition is probable from what has been said above. The LXX. read the description of the stream differently : *rbp roranap rbv Stoptīorra ota 11S 76Xeces.* If on any grounds this could be argued to be the original meaning, it might refer to a stream flowing down the Tyropceon, which Mommert, for instance, has taken to be *the brook flowing through the midst of the land.* But the Chronicler would hardly have spoken of *a brook flowing through the midst of the land,* along with the fountains outside of the City, had the brook been in the Tyropceon, nor would there have been any use in Hezekiah's sealing such a brook. We may therefore take the Hebrew text to be the original, and the Greek as an emendation made when the fact of a stream, which once flowed from the Virgin's Fountain into the Kidron, but was diverted by Hezekiah, had been forgotten ; and since it seemed absurd to speak of a stream through the midst of the land, the reading of the Greek was altered to suit the stream Hezekiah made through the tunnel, which in a sense *makes a division through the City.* Sir Charles Wilson would refer the Hebrew phrase to the conduit (see below), which, before the tunnel was constructed, carried the water of the Virgin's Fountain round the base of Ophel to Siloam (*Water Safifily offerus.,* page 6), and this view is apparently shared by Iienzinger on 2 Chron. xxxii. 3. It is not likely, however, that the Chronicler would have described a conduit as a natial.

[3] See above, ch. iv.

tlot the earthquakes with which Jerusalem was visited were associated with the name of one spring—the Dragon's Fountain, and that, in all probability, they have affected others; while the *debris* they have caused may mask some ancient vents of water, and cause their overflow to appear to-day as mere surface percolations.

2. THE SPRINGS—REAL AND REPUTED.

In the topography of Jerusalem, few points have raised so much controversy as her various real and reputed springs. In such a basin it is evident that springs are not probable, except where the hard *Lower Mizzeh* comes near the surface.[1] The most natural place to look for them is this same Kidron valley; also possibly in the natural grooves which in ancient times descended into it from the East Hill ; and in the mouth of the Tyropceon. Everywhere else the porous strata prevail for a great depth below the surface, and we must be on our guard against mistaking their filtrations of water for a real spring.' It is true that in recent times, as well as in ancient, rumours have arisen of the existence of fountains about Jerusalem, elsewhere than in the Kidron valley ; but these have been due either to the exigencies of topographical theories, or to forgetful-*-ness* of the distinction just noted, or to a misinterpretation of Biblical texts. Robinson and others have placed the Bib 'cal Gihon on the west of the City, by the head of the Wkly. er-Rababi ;[2] and this used to be the common opinion. Others have sought for Gihon on the north, and

Reputed Springs about Jerusalem.

See above, p. 59, on this distinction.

[1] Rubinson, *B.R. i. 323-329, L.B.E. 247 ;* Schultz, 79; Thomson, *L. d B. 655, etc. ;* Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored, 241;* and many others.

have taken the aqueduct which runs from the Damascus Gate towards the Temple Area as a channel for its waters.[1] And Pierotti calls the tiammam esh-Shefa, the water-pit in the Tyropceon to the west of the Temple, a spring.[2] But, as Robinson remarks, the nature of the ground on the north of the Damascus Gate, shows that no sources of living water ever existed there :'[8] the same objection holds good against his own location of Gihon on the west, and, as we shall see, Gihon is to be found, without doubt, in the Kidron valley. Careful examination of the Uammam esh-Shera proves it to be a mere reservoir for the surface waters and percolations immediately under the surface, and no true spring.[4] Other reports of real springs within the City hardly need refutation. The statements by Timochares (2nd cent. B.C.), and Xenophon the topographer, both quoted in the fragments of Alexander Polyhistor (1st cent. B.C.),[5] that the whole town abounds in running water, and that there is a spring within the place which throws up water in abundance,' probably refer, the former to the existence of the aqueducts, the latter to the pool of

1 Williams, *Holy City,* ii. 474. In connection with this may be mentioned the theory of the Rev. George Sandie *(Horeb and ferus.* Edin. 1864, 275), who locates the City of David on the East Hill, that Gihon was in the Central Valley, el-Wad.

Vertu. Expl., 15, 257.

[3] *L.B.R.,* 244; cf. 245, where he shows that the name Mount Gihon, as applied to a ridge of land on the N.W. of the City, does not appear to go farther back than Brocardus, 1283 **A.D.**; *B.R.* i. 39.

So several writers who have examined the cistern. *E.g.,* Chaplin, *P.E.F. Mein.* cJerus.,' 262 ff. ; Sir C. Wilson (see below, p. 120) ; Masterman *(Bib'. World,* 1905, 95 f.). ' An underground tank . . . it contains only dirty water, greatly impregnated with sewage . . . it has no true spring.' K. Furrer's identification of it with the Pool of Bethesda *(Zeitschrift f. Wissensaajt,* **1902, 260),** is based on the assumptions, x, of a Temple-Spring, **2,** of its being intermittent, and 3, of a real spring in the Ilammam.

5 Muller, *Fragrn. Hider. Graec.* iii. 228 *f.*

Sgoarn, still regarded as an 'Ain by the Arabs, because of the issue from the tunnel which fills it.

The question of a real spring within the Temple Area rises from data of somewhat different value. The 'Pseudo-Aristeas ' states that the Temple had an in- The question exhaustible supply of water, not only in its of a Temple wonderful cisterns, but from a copious natural Spring. spring within itself.' Tacitus speaks of a fons perennis aquae,'[2] apparently also within the Temple. Both these statements may be mere inversions of the prophecy that a fountain of living water would issue from the Sanctuary. At the same time a very deep well beneath the Temple Area, descending far enough to tap some gathering of living water upon the Lower Mizzeh, is perfectly possible. 'It has often occurred to me,' writes Sir Charles Wilson, "that the Bir el-Arwa, under the Sakhra, may be a deep well going down below the floors of the adjacent valleys, **and** so having an almost constant supply. Such wells are not uncommon in northern Syria, and there is a good example at Shobek in Edam.[3] Against this hypothesis, so reasonable in itself, there stand the following facts. First, the great complex of cisterns under the Temple Area, in which, so far as they have been explored, no trace **of** such a well has been found, and second, the aqueduct or aqueducts by which water was brought to the Temple from distant sources.[4] That all these were necessary seems to prove that there never was any considerable spring of water discovered by boring beneath the Temple

1 Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Introd. to the 0. T. in* Gr., 535. Eng. Trans., **21.**

[2] *Hist. v.* **12.**

[3] From a private letter to the author, 1903.

[4] Sec below, p. 520, and p. 524 f.

Area itself; unless such a spring existing in the earlier times disappeared through the influence of the earthquakes, and substitutes for it had to be provided. A more formidable reason against the hypothesis would be the existence of the Water Gate, if it could be proved that this was a Temple Gate, for, if such a spring existed, there would be no need to descend for water into the Kidron valley. But a comparison of the passages in which the Water Gate is mentioned convinces me that those are right who take it to have been a City Gate on the eastern wall, even although Nehemiah does not mention it in his account of the rebuilding of that wall.' The Water Gate cannot therefore be used in the present argument. Yet the two other facts, or rather our *present* evidence for them, are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple *enceinte.* The rumours of it are to be explained as above.

We turn now to the Springs, real or reputed, in the Kidron valley. Both the Chronicler and. Josephus report springs (in the plural) of Jerusalem : the Chronicler when he describes how Hezekiah *took counsel to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the City . . . and they stopped all the fountains and the na4al which overflowed through the midst of the land;* [2] and Josephus, who reports that when exhorting the Jews to surrender to Titus, he said, You know that Siloam as well as the other springs without the City had (before the siege) so failed that water was sold by the jar, whereas they now produce in such abundance for your enemies, that they suffice not only

1 This opinion is contrary to that which I previously expressed in *Enc. Bibb.,* Jerusalem,' § 24, *fin. col.* 2,425.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, ninn n1)3/pri

fer these and their cattle but for their gardens as well: [1] Both writers have been charged in this with exaggeration, and we are not concerned to defend the accuracy ofJosephus, especially on such an occasion ; it would certainly be hard to reconcile his statement with those quoted above from Strabo and .Dion Cassius, and with the difficulties in finding water to which all other besiegers of the City are known to have been subject. Probably Josephus is referring to the water which Titus brought in sufficiency from distant sources; the aqueducts from the south were then in operation. With regard to the Chronicler's report of *ountains,* the alternatives are either that he uses the plural of *' ain,* the Hebrew word for a real spring, with the same looseness with which it is used in modern Arabic ; or that there were, in Hezekiah's time and his own, several springs in the Kidron valley which have disappeared as a result of earthquakes ; or that he speaks of Other wells further off from the City.[2] To-day there are only two wells in the Kidron valley which have been claimed to be real springs : the Virgin's Fountain and the Well of Job. These we will now examine.

The 'Ain Sitti Mariam, or Fountain of our Lady Mary, les in a cave in the west wall of the valley in The 'Ain the rock of the East Hill, some 353 yards south situ 11ariam. of the south-east angle of the Temple Area. It is also

! *Sep& t B.J.* ix. 4 (409, 410) rn-yal.

Ninsterman suggests (in a letter to the author) that the curious rock-011,1111efis connected with so many springs in the neighbourhood, *e.g. Ain* rativtar, 'Ain el Khanduk *[P.E.F. Q. 1902,* 245, descriptions and plan by WAXitlisterl, 'AM Karyet es.Sa 'Well, may have been made at least partially to **hide** these springs on the approach of a hostile force. A similar kind of tisimel has just been found at 'Ain uoa, The Apostles' Fountain.' Compare said below on the 'Ain cl-Lerzeh.

known as the 'Ain Umm ed-Deraj, or Fountain of Steps,' which lead down to it from the present surface of the valley. The steps are in two flights. The upper flight of sixteen ends upon a level landing beneath a vault The lower of fourteen ends under the roof of the cave, and projects seven feet over a rocky basin thirty feet long by eight broad,[2] which fills with water from a hole near its centre. In 1901, in consequence of a diminution of the water, the municipality of Jerusalem had the basin cleared of a large accumulation of rubbish. At the invitation of the late Yusuf Pasha I had the opportunity of accompanying him and Dr. Schick upon an inspection of the well, the results of which have been described by Dr. Schick.[3] Almost six feet west of the lowest step is the opening of the source, a hole in the rock apparently natural and about a foot wide. The cliff above projects eastward over the lower flight of stairs about seventeen feet from the source. The basin, thus situated in a cave on the eastern wall of Ophel, appears to be the original pool of the spring, and is like that of many other springs in Western Palestine.

Its Character ; a real Spring.

As is well known, the flow of water in the 'Ain Sitti Mariam is intermittent : the water breaks from the hole in. the basin three to five times a day during the rainy season, but during summer twice a day, and after any failure of the spring rains (as in 1901, as well as in other years) less than once. Even when the spring

'The legend that Mary washed here the swaddling clothes of her infant is first met with in the fourteenth century. But as far back as the sixth (Antoninus Plac. 59o) the house and grave of Mary were pointed out a little higher up the 1Pdron Valley ; and no doubt this earlier legend gave rise to the later (cf. Guthe, Hauck's *Realenc.* Jerus.' viii. 67o). I do not know how far back the earlier name goes.

[2] Baedeker, 5th ed. 1898, gives the dimensions as 3.5 metres by I*6 or about r q feet by 5.

[3] *P.E.F.Q., 1902,* 29.

rains do not fail, the flow in autumn frequently falls to this minimum. The volume of the water therefore depends ¡mmediately on the rain - fall and the ultimate source cannot be deep-seated. But it is useless to deny to the issue the name of Spring, as some have done.[1] The cause cannot be the mere overflow of some of the many cisterns beneath the Temple Area ; we shall find evidence that the, issue existed at an earlier date than that at which these can have been constructed. Nor' does the water gather by mere percolation. It breaks, as we have seen, through what_ is no artificial conduit, but, to all appearance, the mouth of a natural fissure in the rock. At the other end Of this fissure we must assume that there is a cavity which the volume of water sent forth at each outburst of the spring has room to gather ; a cavity which elves water from the porous strata above, but being itself in the harder rock prevents the further passage of the water downwards, and sends it along the fissure to the hole in the cave ; the hole, we must remember, occurs on a level not far beneath which the impervious Lower Mizzeh is lying? To water issuing under such conditions we can as little refuse the name of Spring as to scores of other ter-sources in Western Palestine ; and indeed nearly all modern observers are agreed upon the fact.[3] The inter-

Mommert, *Topographic des alien Jerusalem* erster Theil, 13. His ypothesis, that the Bir Eiyftb or 'En Rogel was the original spring in the 15.id- racy, and that the 'AM Sitti Mariam was opened in later times as a vent rxr the subterranean waters of the Iidron valley, close to the City, has no evidc e to support it. On the contrary, we shall find proof of the very early exist rice 'of the 'Ain Sitti Mariam under the name of Gihon.

Srst itbove, p. 56 f.

e. t. Wilson, *Relay. of Jerusalem, 19* ; Warren, IIastings' *D.B.* ii. 387 ; *Ent. Bibl. § 11 ;* Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker,* 5th ed. 98 ; Buhl, *C..4.1.* 93, etc. ; Lagrange, *Revue Biblique,* 1892, 17-38 ; Masterman, *Bibl. W„Thl, 1905, 91 ; ;* Guthe, Hauck's *Realene.* viii. 670. f. ; etc. etc.

mittent flow is generally explained as due to the cavity and fissure forming between them a natural syphon. When the water has risen in the former high enough to cover the mouth of the outflow fissure, the whole drains off rapidly till the mouth of the inflow fissure is exposed ; and the flow then ceases till water sufficient to repeat the process has again gathered.' Colonel Conder thus describes the outburst of the Spring itself: ' When we first entered there was not more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased just after we had reached the foot of the steps to four feet seven inches.'[2] From what we have seen of the connection in folk-lore between dragons and springs, it will not surprise us that the common people explain the intermittent flow of the Virgin's Spring by the story of a Dragon, in the interior of the rock, who swallows the water, but when he sleeps it rushes past him to the issue. Finally the water is clear, but to the taste brackish, as if tainted with the sewage of the City above.

At present the water is prevented from flowing out of the cave into the valley of the Kidron by the vast accumulation of rubbish, upon which the steps descend to the spring. But before this rubbish was gathered, the water must have flowed out of the cave on the natural surface eastward or south-eastward into the bed of the *nasal* Kidron, thus forming the rill mentioned above.[3] Dr. Schick has reasonably supposed

Original direction of the outflow.

Guthe *(op. cit.* 671) assumes a double source in the interior of the rock, an irregular as described above, and a regular.

[2] *P.E.F. Mem.,* Jerus.' 357. Masterman *(op.* cit.) describes the intermittent spring el-Fttwarah ' The Bubbler' in the Wady Kilt, where `the water rises three or four times an hour in a group of natural stony basins.'

[3] P. 61. The bottom of the basin in the cave is, I believe, at least 12 or

that at one time it was intercepted by an artificial pool, somewhere to the south of the present mosque. Sir Charles Wilson has objected[1] that there is no trace or tradition of such a pool, but, as Dr. Masterman points out,[2] there is abundance of room for it in this situation, and the whole ground has yet to be excavated. When we come to discuss the position of the Pool of Bethesda, this possibility must be kept in mind.

Shut off, however, by the accumulation of rubbish from this its natural direction into the *nalial* Kidron, the water of the Virgin's Spring flows at present, and for ages has flowed, through the celebrated rock-tunnel under Ophel to the Pool of Siloam it the mouth of the Tyropceon. A shaft, communicating between the surface of Ophel and this tunnel, a short distance from the Spring, suggests that this part alone was first made, and that the rest of the tunnel was completed later. And, recently, traces of another artificial conduit have been discovered running outside, down the edge of the valley, southwards. We shall now examine in turn these three, beginning with the last named.

Conduits from the Virgin's Spring.

Sonic years ago, Dr. Schick discovered the lower end of an aqueduct issuing near the Lower Pool of Siloam, and followed it up towards the Virgin's Spring. The upper end of it, he believed, might be fottnd to start from the landing between the

r. Surface Conduit in the Valley.

trvt below the natural rock in the valley outside. Therefore, either the water gathered to a great depth in the cave, or escaped into the valley by a 'a in the rock. The former alternative is supported by the fact that the Mouth of the ancient conduit, described below, is at the top of the lower it of steps, to, which, or above which, the water in the basin must have iginally risen.

Art."Bethesda' in Smith's *D.B.*

[1] *bill. World,* 1905, tot.

flights of steps.' Here, accordingly, in 1901, a shaft was sunk and the entrance opened to a conduit running south on the edge of the valley towards the Lower Pool of Siloam. This was traced by Messrs. Hornstein and Masterman for a distance of 176 feet, and found to be partly excavated in the rock and partly built with rough stones.[2] Whether it is actually the upper end of Dr. Schick's aqueduct is not yet certain; but, in any case, Dr. Hornstein and Dr. Masterman have proved the existence of a conduit from the Spring along the edge of the valley, southwards, at or near the natural surface. Colonel Conder regards the portion discovered by Dr. Schick as modern ; but it would be difficult to discover a reason for the construction of the other portion, which lay exposed outside the ancient wall of Ophel, if the tunnel was already in existence which carries the water under Ophel to Siloam. We may therefore take Hornstein and Masterman's conduit to be the older of the two, and perhaps the first artificial channel carrying the water of the Spring southward.

In the famous Tunnel under Ophel which carries the water of the Virgin's Spring south-west to the Pool of Siloam, there are possibly two different stages from different epochs. First, there is that part of the Tunnel immediately contiguous to the Spring which runs in a main direction of a little north of east for 5o feet as far as a great shaft discovered by Sir Charles Warren in 1867, and named after him. This shaft runs straight up through the rock for 44 feet, to a horizontal passage, from the end of which a flight of steps or very steeply sloping passage leads to the surface of

2. Warren's Shaft and connected Tunnel.

P.E.F.Q., 1891, 13 *ff.;* cf. 1886, 197 ff.
[2] *P. E.F.Q.*, 2902, January.

Ophel just where, we shall see, the original fortress of Sion must have been situated. The purpose of the shaft is clear : it was to enable the garrison to draw upon the Spring from within their wall, which ran upon Ophel above the cave of the Spring. Sir Charles Warren's opinion, that .the shaft and the portion of the Tunnel between it and the Spring is of earlier date than the rest of the Tunnel to Siloam, has been generally accepted.'

From the Virgin's Spring to its mouth in the Upper Pool of Siloam, the length of the Tunnel has been measured several times by competent hands, with results varying from 1700 to over 175o feet (about 518 to 535 metres).[2] The direct distance between the two points is only some 1090 feet, or little over 332 m.[3] The Tunnel, therefore, winds considerably, in part probably by the intention of its makers, but also in part from their inability to preserve a straight direction. They began the work from both ends. From the Spring the mine was run almost due east for over 25o feet (this may have been an earlier bit of work), and was then turned to the south. From the Pool, after a few feet north-north-east, the tunnel was driven south-east till the miners reached the line on which their fellows were working southwards, and turned sharply north to meet them at a point discovered by Colonel Conder approximately half-way between the points where each had curved.[4] The

3. Tunnel to Siloam.

Recovery of jerus., 238. *P.E.F. Mem.*, Jerus.' 353 fr.
* Warren, *Recov. of ferns.* 222, 1708 feet, 520'58 m.; Conder, *Enc. Bib'. it*, 1708 feet ; Robinson, 503, 175o feet, 533.5 m., cf. Baedeker, 5th td. 99; Condor, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 122 *ff.*, 1757 ft. 4 in., $_{535'6}$ m. ; the differ-Me seems due to the exclusion from the smaller estimate of 5o ft. at the N. end.
As in Sir Charles Wilson's *Plan of ferns.*, red, from the Ordnance Survey.
[4] But about 945 feet from the Pool and 813 from the Spring, according to his measurement *(i.e.* 287'7 and $_{247'9}$ metres respectively).

great curve on the south M. Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Bliss supposed to have been due to the wish of the miners to avoid the Tombs of the Kings of Judah.' Whether this was the exact cause remains uncertain ; but the intentional character of the curve seems clear from the fact that the two parties afterwards worked on the same line north and south. Indeed, from the point at which they met, it appears as if the northern party started. on their southward turn to meet the southern party only when these had turned their curve. But the winding of their courses as they approached each other, with the fact that more than once they deserted directions in which they were travelling, proves that they were not always sure of their way. Nevertheless, allowing, as we cannot help doing, that the great curve was intentional, and considering that the miners had to work without a compass, we cannot but wonder at their skill as well as their enterprise and industry. The present height of the tunnel varies from over 11 feet at the south end, and over 6 at the north, to under 2 at various other points, and at one place to as low as 16 inches (about 410 mm.). But as in these last cases the bottom is hard chalky mud, and the rock has not been reached, the original height of the channel must have been greater. The fall of the bed has been reckoned by Colonel Conder as under a foot, or about 3o0 mm.

The Inscription of the Tunnel.

In the year 188o an inscription, now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, was discovered on a prepared surface on the right wall of the Tunnel, some 19 feet from the Siloam outlet. It

1 Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. Critique,* 1887, *Athenaum,* Sept. 11, 1897, 361, and *Les Tombeaux de David et des Rois de Juda et le tunnel-aqueduct de Sad* (Extrait des Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres), 1897. See F. J. Bliss, *Excay. in Jerus.,* 1894-1897, 230 f.

consists of six lines of Hebrew prose, of pure classical style, in the ancient script used by Israel up to the time of the Exile, and recounts the completion of the Tunnel. There s no doubt that it is from the makers themselves, but it contains, remarkably, no royal or official name. The few lacunae can be easily supplied, and among the many epigraphists who have studied the inscription there remains no doubt as to the meaning, except of a word or two. There have been several reproductions of the inscription, and numerous translations, descriptions and treatises on the subject.' The following is the text with a translation. The *lacuna',* which can be supplied with some certainty, are given in brackets ; the others are represented by dots. Dots also separate the words.

V34 • onvrin • nn4.m] .1372 nzpri . . nzpn . . . 1.
p e/t4 • Sp . r[tv.) • njpr15 • *nux* • *vhc* . i)rzi • 5N . vrt . ran 2.
•|= • . . . 1.polo•ln. Mr • 11'71 • • 13.,1 • 9N • N1 3.
125n • itla • 5y • ri,1 • 1r1 • 711P9 • *Cltt* • rnvrIn • 171 • nap) 4.
[N] DI • rinN • q9$1 • wriNnz . r1.717,71 • NVIDM • In• Enn 5.
[nprm . no • Sp • 1Vil • 711) • ;TM • • /1 6.

TRANSLATION.

I. . the boring. And this was the matter of the boring : when yet [the hewers were lifting]

First reports of the discovery in *P. E. F. Q., 1881,* 141 ff., and *Z. D. P. V., &BO, 3,* 54 f. : see further *P.E.F.Q.,* 1882, 122 IT. (Conder), 1890, 208 ff., 1897, 2o4 ff.; and *Z.D. P. V.,* 1881, 102 ff., 250 ff., 260 ff., 1882, 205 ff. Full accounts with facsimiles and translations, Guthe, *Z. D. G.,* 1882, 725 ff. Cicsnont-Ganneau, *Remelt d' Archlologie Orientate,* i., Pl. xvi. ; Euting is GCsenius•Kautzsch, *Hebr. Grammar;* Driver, *Notes on the Teal of the 844 of Samuel,* xv.; Stade, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel,* i. 594 (1897) ; Lidthurski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen .Efti‹raphik, 1898; Socin, Z.D.P.* 1899, 61, and (separate ed.) *Die Siloahinschrift* z. *Gebrauch bci aad, POrlesungen,* 5899 ; G. A. Cooke, *Text book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (without facsimile, but with alphabet), 5903. Cf. D. M. Ross, *The Cradle of Christianity,* 1893.

2. the pick, each towards his fellow, and when yet there were three cubits to be bored, [hear]d was the voice of each
3. calling to his fellow ; for there was a fissure (?) from south even [to nor]th." And on the day of the
4. boring, the hewers struck, each to meet his fellow, pick against pick ; then went
5. the waters from the issue to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits, and a
6. hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the hewer[s].

The word translated fissure (?)' is of uncertain meaning ; but the meaning given is a possible one,[2] and suits the preceding phrase to which it is the explanation, the voice of the one party was heard calling to the other.' The point at which they met was, as we have seen, about half way up the north and south stretch of the tunnel. If just before meeting, and while still three cubits, or about four and a half feet, distant from each other, they broke into a north and south fissure, this, and only this, would enable them to speak to each other. They might hear the picks through four and a half feet of solid rock : hardly the human voice. The figures in the last two lines are evidently round numbers.[3] On the hundred cubits of rock above the head of the hewers,' Col. Conder remarks towards the north, the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.'[4]

Literally : from the right hand even [to the leNt.

;ı⌄ has been suggested by Blake, *Journ.* of Amer. Orient. Soc. xxii. i. (1901), 52 f., as if from ⌝ı⊇ with the radical meaning 'narrow.' G. A. Cooke translates split.' Socin leaves the word untranslated.

[3] G. A. Cooke, p. 17.

[4] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1882, 127.

The water, then, of the Virgin's Spring was brought by this Tunnel to a Pool (Hebrew *be'rehak)* represented to-day by the Birket Silwan, usually called the Upper Pool of Siloam. As it issues into this, spasmodically because still under the influence of the intermittent flow described above, the people give it the name of Spring; it is in Arabic the 'Ain Silwan. The Pool, according to Dr. Bliss, who was the first fully to excavate it, was originally about fifty feet square ; and he assigns its construction to the Herodian period. Subsequently it was so built upon, that the present pool is an oblong of some fifty by fifteen feet. What the size was of the pool which preceded it in the days when the tunnel was constructed, we are unable to say.' Dr. Guthe had previously, in 1882,[2] reported the discovery of a pool to the north-east of the present Birket Silwan, with an inlet in its west wall ; but this does not appear in Messrs. Bliss and Dickie's plans. Either it is only the north-east corner and part of the eastern wall of their Herodian pool, or else the remains, as Dr. Guthe himself takes it, of the pool which preceded the Herodian .[3] Against the latter alternative is the fact that the Tunnel does not run into it. An outlet from the Birket Silwan on the south—as well as on on the south wall of Guthe's pool [4]—admits the water

`AM and Birket Silwan.

Excavations at ferns., 1894.97, chs. iv. v. and p. 33o. The Pool, as excireated by Dr. Bliss, was surrounded by an arcade (cf. the evidence of the Bnrdeaux Pilgrim). The western and the northern sides were in large parts hewn at of the solid rock, and Dr. Bliss thinks that the rudely hewn scarps indicate the sides of the pool, before it was built up in Roman times (p. 157).

[2] *Z.D.P.V. v.* 59 ff., 355 ff. with Tafel ii. Hauck's *Realencycl.* viii. 681, lines 55 IT., and 686, lines 45 ff. See also Kuemmel, *Materialien 7041,7. des alt. Jcrus.* 149.

H:tuck's *Realencycl.* viii. 681, lines 55 and 686, lines 45 ff. ; cf. Kuen *Materialien a. Topogr. des alten ferns.* 149, and Plan.

[4] *Z.O.P.V. v.* 131, with Tafel ii. and Kuemmel's Plan.

to a conduit which carries it, not into the Lower Pool of Siloam, but past this into the Kidron valley.

The so-called Lower Pool of Siloam, the Birket el-Hamra, lies to the south-east of the Birket Silwan, in the very mouth of the Tyropceon valley ; about 15o feet by i io. This has never been thoroughly excavated ; but occupies, in all probability, the site of an ancient reservoir, in which the surface waters of the Tyropceon, as well as those brought from the Virgin's Spring by the Kidron valley aqueduct, were stored for the irrigation of the gardens below. At present it is an open cesspool, receiving that part of the City's sewage which succeeds in reaching it down the Tyropceon. But in ancient times, as Dr. Bliss has shown, the great drain of this valley passed it on the west.

Birket el Hamra.

Down the Kidron valley, nearly woo feet from the Birket el-Hamra, lies the Bir Eiyab, or Well of Job (sometimes also called Nehemiah's Well, from an erroneous location of his Dragon Spring). This is a great well, 125 feet deep or 38.1 metres, the water in which has seldom been known to fail, and can be drawn upon all the year round.' From an overflow near this wel1,[2] the stream spoken of above breaks down the valley for a few days after the Latter Rains, and its appearance is taken as the token of a fruitful year. Whether we have

Bir EiyAb.

I ' In the height of a particularly dry summer I have known of a hundred and twenty animals—donkeys, mules, and horses—being employed night and day carrying goatskins of water (two or three to each animal) up to Jerusalem. On an average every animal made four or five journeys within the twenty-four hours. In addition great quantities of water were taken locally—for Silwan and for the vegetable gardens near the well.'—Masterman, *Bibl. World, 19o2, 89.*

P.E.F. Mein., Jerus.' 371.

in the Well only the gathering of the surface water or a true spring, and whether a spring existed here in ancient times, are questions which have been much discussed. Some take the Bir Eiyab not only to have been a real spring, but in early times at least the only one about Jerusalem.[1] It is true that the quality of the water is distinctly better than that of the Virgin's Spring, but this may be due to the further filtration of such supplies as reach it from the latter, and to additional percolations from the surface of the valleys, which meet above it. Is there besides a deep natural spring still undiscovered ? Sir Charles WilsOn, who descended and carefully examined the Well, answers in the negative. ' There can be no doubt,' he says, 'as to its not being a true spring. The bottom of the well is cemented so as to form a collecting basin, and it is quite apparent that the well has been deepened at least once, and possibly oftener, to obtain infiltration. When I went down there was hardly any water in the basin, and I could see vater "weeping" into the shaft between the strata. The upper part of the well, in the rubbish, has been lined with masonry.'[2] Nevertheless we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility of a real spring in former times in this the lowest level of the district round Jerusalem, and a spot too where, as we have seen, the soft *vieleki* strata suddenly come to an end.[3] The sites of such large wells are not chosen without there being some special attraction in them to the seekers for water. This attraction may have been the annual outburst of the stream in the immediate neighbourhood ; or it may have been a small more constant spring,

Mommert, *Tojiogr. des alien Jerus. i. 13* f.

I From a letter to the author.

[3] Above, p. 57.

which has now disappeared through the influence of the earthquakes, or whose presence has been masked by the building of the Well. The question is certainly not closed.' The underground conduits leading down the valley near the Well which were discovered by Sir Charles Warren are, as Sir Charles Wilson has written, almost certainly the drainage system of the ancient City,' with a series of tanks for the deposit of the solid matter, and steps by which they could be cleaned.'[2]

Some 585 yards (about 535 metres) south of the Bir Ely:lb, by the junction of the Wady Yas(11 with the W. en Nar, is the 'Ain el-L8zeh, or Almond-tree spring. el-L8zeh. I have myself never seen it flow; and I believe that it does so only after heavy rain. Near is, an ancient shaft, blocked with earth which is said to lead to a long subterranean channel hewn in the rock.[3]

Returning now to the Wady er-Rababi and its southern portion, immediately about its junction with the Possibilities of Water in the W. er-Rababi. Kidron valley, we find that there is here neither spring, nor the name nor trace of a spring. But some 46o yards up from the mouth of the Wady we come, in the bed of it, upon the remains of an ancient rock-cut conduit, about 126 yards in length : whether to carry off the surface water, or water from a now vanished spring, it is impossible to say. Nor must we omit to notice the great accumulation of *debris* at the issue of the W. er-

I had formerly suggested *(Expositor,* March 1903, 218) that we might expect a spring to issue on the east edge of the Kidron valley, for the Mount of Olives above this must receive an immense amount of water. But Sir Charles Wilson has rightly pointed out to me that the dip of the strata eastward contradicts this suggestion.

[2] From a letter to the author.

8 P.E.F. Mein. iii. 372 *f.;* Schick and Benzinger, *Z.D.P.V xviii.* 15o, with Schick's Map of the nearer surroundings of Jerusalem.

Rababi into the Kidron valley.' Relevant to our present subject of the hydrography are the questions whether this unusually large heap of rubbish may not be due to *an* earthquake, and whether it may not mask, on what is not an unlikely place for a spring to issue, some ancient spring now forgotten.

3. THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SPRINGS.

Such are the essential details of the waters, and of the system of water supply, which are discoverable in the valley of the Kidron, and the mouths of Identification the Tyropceon and Hinnom. Our next duty owfitthom Btieig LS to inquire whether any of them are identical names. with the Biblical sources, channels, or pools of water about ,Jerusalem, and in particular with the names Shiloah, Gihon, 'En-rogel, and the Dragon's Spring. In undertaking this inquiry we have, as before, to keep in mind the uncertainty introduced into the question by the earthquakes, one of the worst of which, as described by Josephus, affected especially this part of the environs of the City. We have seen that earthquakes may have seriously altered the sub- errancan drainage of this region as a whole ; while it is still more possible that the deep *dlbris* cast here, a large part of which has not yet been excavated, may have 'f.hoked or masked vents of the underground waters, which in, ancient times were known and named.

Some facts, however, are clear, and we shall start with the most undoubted. The surface aqueduct, the short tunnel and shaft, and the long tunnel, all lead- Date of the Tunnel. g from the Virgin's Spring, prove that when they were executed the Spring was already a considerable

[1] See above, p. 41 f.

source of living water. The characters of the inscription, describing the excavation of the Tunnel, are archaic, and the writing may be of any date before the Exile. There is a general agreement among scholars to assign it to the eighth century B.C., a period when great public works were executed by at least three kings, Uzziah, Jotham and Hezekiah. The Biblical evidence that Hezekiah was the author appears to me as conclusive as could be expected for so remote a date. According to the annalists of Judah, Hezekiah *made the pool and the conduit, and brought water into the City.*[1] In the time of the Chronicler, whatever be the date of his sources, the tradition was that this conduit and pool were the Tunnel and a Pool on the site of, or near to, the present Birket Si'wan. No other conclusion seems possible from the Chronicler's words : *And he sealed the issue of the waters of Gihon the upper, and directed them down westwards to the City of David;*[2] *he built an outer wall to the City of David, west of Gihon, in the Nahal, even up to the entry of the Fish Gate, and he surrounded the Ophel and made it,* the wall, *very high.*[3] Another passage, which we have already quoted, explains his purpose : *they sealed all the springs, and the Nahal flowing through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the Kings of Assyria come and find much water f*[4] We have seen that in the Old Testament the *Nahal* is always the Kidron valley, with its winter or storm brook. Ophel is universally identified with the ridge of the East Hill, at the eastern foot of which the Virgin's Spring issues. The ' City of David,' we shall see in the next chapter, stood upon Ophel. *An outer wall to the City of David, west of*

1 I Ki. xx. 20.
2 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.
3 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.
4 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

Gihon, would run along just the natural line for such a wall, to the west of and above the Virgin's Spring. The Spring lay, therefore, outside this wall, and Hezekiah's purpose to prevent besiegers from using it could be achieved only by the stoppage of its natural or artificial issue into the Kidron valley, and the conveyance of its waters to the pool in the Tyropceon by the Tunnel, the course of which is more or less exactly described by the words, *he directed the waters of Gihon the upper, down westwards to the City of David.* The Tunnel, therefore, was made by Hezekiah, and at his date, the eighth century c, the present Virgin's Spring was in existence.'

But if the Tunnel was made by Hezekiah, and is so obviously intended to supersede both the surface aqueduct in the valley, traced by Messrs. Schick, Horn- The Shiloah Win and Masterman, and the shaft discovered by Sir Charles Warren, these must date from still earlier nods. The surface aqueduct ran to the mouth of the Tyropceon, either into a pool on the site of the Birket el Ifamra, or in order to feed, along with the surface waters of the Tyropceon itself, a number of channels for the irrigation of the gardens in the valley of the Kidron. Now we have contemporary evidence that in the reign of Ahaz, the immediate predecessor of Hezekiah, there was here a conduit, or system of conduits. In an oracle of that reign Isaiah says :[2] *forasmuch as this people despises*

This opinion is now generally accepted. I need only quote the names Of Wile of its supporters : Warren (*Recov. of ferns.,* 238; cf. *P.G.F.* ' Jinn.' 6, 94, by Warren and Conder), Robertson Smith (*Enc. Brit.,* 9th cd,), Sir Charles Wilson (*Water Supply of Jerus., 7, 'probably'),* Socin. and Utnxinger (*Baedeker,* 5th ed., 98, hochst wahrscheinlich') ; Buhl (*G.A.P.* SO ff.), Guthe (Ilauck's *.Realencycl.* viii. 681 f., where the identification is A41104 as 'a fixed point '). From the epigraphic side of the question, G. A. Cook: (M *Sear. laser.* 16) and others.

2 Isaiah viii. 6.

the waters of the Shiloah, which flow gently and . . .[1] *therefore, lo, the Lord will bring up against them the waters of the River,* the Euphrates. *The Shiloah,* or (according to another ancient spelling) *Shilloah,*[2] is a passive form, and means the *sent* or *conducted.*[3] No one doubts that it applies to the water-system in or about the mouth of the Tyropoeon, where the name has always been at home. In Josephus *Siloa* or *Siloam,* when used with the feminine article,[4] is a copious spring of sweet water, obviously the issue of water from the Tunnel into the Birket which in Arabic is still called 'Ain Silwan. But Josephus also uses Siloa with the masculine article,[5] which has been held to mean the district of Siloa ';[6] and this wide sense is that in which Dr. Guthe interprets Isaiah's *Shiloah. The waters of the Shiloah which go softly* would accordingly mean, all the water artificially controlled and led about the mouth of the Tyropceon, in order to irrigate the gardens in the Kidron valley.? But whether we put this

This clause is uncertain: *see* Cheyne in *S. B.O. T.* and Marti's commentary.

[2] So the *Cod. Babyl.,* the *Complutensian Bible,* and other early eds. This reading is accepted by Baer, but not in Kittel's edition.

[3] In later Hebrew l-60 means *outpouring irrigation,* ;,r6v,In roz *an irrigated field.*

[4] ?"7 LAWS so in Niese's text (the oblique cases), but some MSS. have Mawd,a ; v. *B.J. iv.* **2.** Cf. vi. x, ix. 4; vi. *B.J.* viii. 5. And ltXtucia v. *B.J. xii.* 2.

31/7(pt rot; ZiXtuck (Niece: some MSS. have ZtXced,u), ii. *B.J.* **xvi. 2; vi.** BJ **vii. 2.**

[6] Sc. *X43POS* : cf. Guthe, v. 359 ff. The masculine article is also used in the N.T. with the form /tXtod,u, Luke xiii. 4, John ix. 7. The form Zedtwaii. or .7.;tXwdp is that used in the LXX. of Isai. viii. 3, though some codd. read MeXata.

[7] But of course, at the time Isaiah used it, the name would not cover the Tunnel, which was made after this by Hezekiah. Buhl is therefore right in taking the name as older than the Tunnel *(G.A.P.* 139, 139).

or a more particular meaning upon the name, the *Shiloa4* implies the existence in the reign of Ahaz of a conduit, or conduits, inclusive of the surface-conduit from the Virgin's Spring to the mouth of the Tyropceon. This latter also suits *the conduit of the upper pool towards the highway of Me fuller's field,'* mentioned in another passage of the same date ; in that case *the upper pool* would be the basin of the Virgin's Fountain, to which, as we have seen, the Chronicler applies the epithet *upper.*[2] Yet this conduit of the upper pool on the highway of the fuller's field is described later on as the place where the envoy of Sennacherib met the representatives of Hezekiah; and on the ground that no general commanding an army would go down to the mouth of the Tyropceon valley, but would speak to them from some point on the plateau to the north,' Sir Charles Wilson holds that this conduit must be placed on the north of the City.[3] I appreciate the military reason, but it is not conclusive. The parley was possible in the valley beside what was still the principal part of the City ; and it is hard to think of the *fuller's field* as anywhere but on this lowest level of the environs, 'where alone water abounded.[4] A gloss to one of the later oracles of Isaiah[5] records a *lower pool,* and *a reservoir*

[1] **Isai** vii 3.

&Ade, Marti, etc., identify *the upper pool* with the pool which Guthe *Da. V. v.* 355 ff.) claims to have discovered a few feet to the N.E. of the Silwan ; but, as we have seen (above, p. 97), this may be only part of *wider ancient pool which extended on both sides of the present Birket IOWA, and was excavated by Bliss.

[1] **loft letter** to the author. Cf. Guthe in Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 681.

[4] **Note** *the* cavern south of the Triple Gate described by Warren *(Rec. of imsi., 304* #T.). He suggests it may have been a fuller's shop, and cites the "P: a 4 ition that St. James was thrown over the outer wall of the Temple endosuse, and that a fuller took the club with which he pressed the clothes and bat out the head of the Just One.

[5] xxii. 9b-1ia.

between. the two walls for the waters of the old pool. But as these references are of uncertain date, and an intrusion into their context, it is impossible to define their data. Nehemiah mentions as immediately north of the Fountain Gate (which lay immediately south of the mouth of the Tyropceon, at the extreme south-east angle of the City), *the pool of the Shelah,*[1]- that is, *aqueduct* or *irrigation.* This must have been one of the two in the mouth of the Tyropceon, probably the pool into which Hezekiah's conduit led ; and the other *the king's pool,*[2] which he also mentions there. He also gives *the made,* or *artificial, pool*[3] to the north of *the pool of the Shelah,* that is, nearer to the Virgin's Spring.

Except that, as we have seen, it must be earlier than Hezekiah's tunnel, the date of Warren's shaft, with the portion of the tunnel leading from it to the Virgin's Spring, is quite uncertain. Its purpose was to enable the water to be drawn by buckets to the summit of the rock above, at a position which was probably that of the fortress Sion.[4] It has consequently been assigned by some to David's or Solomon's time, by others to that of the Jebusites, and in the latter case has • been taken to be the very *siimor* (E. V. *glitter* and *water-course),* by which David urged his men to take the fortress.° The text of this passage, and the meaning of *,thin&* are, however, too uncertain to confirm the latter suggestion ; and the other more general date remains only a probable conjecture.°

Date of Warren's Shaft.

[1] iii. 15 : but see Guthe, *Z.D.P.V. V.* 371 f. [2] 11. **14.**
[3] **iii.** 16. [4] See below, ch. vi.
[3] 2 Sam. v. 8. 71st' used in Ps. xlii. 8, as a torrent or cataract, but in N. Heb. *as* a watercourse or conduit.
On the identification of Warren's shaft with the *sinnar,* see Birch,

We have seen that in the Chronicler's time, about 30o B.C., the Virgin's Spring was known as *Gihein the upper.* The name Gihon, derived from a verb meaning to *burst* or *bubble forth,* exactly suits the intermittent violent action of the Virgin's Spring, and may be compared with the Arabic El-Fawarah, The Bubbler,' applied to the intermittent spring in the Wady Kelt.' That it is called *Gihon the upper* is, of course, due to the fact that, in the Chronicler's day, the water issuing from the other end of the tunnel would be known as *the lower Gihoik.* And in fact the connection of Gihon with the Shiloah is from this time onwards a close one. The Targum gives *Shilloah* or *Shilldhei* as an equivalent for *Gihon,*[2] and both D. Kimchi and Rashi take them as identical. It is difficult to understand how, even under the strong influence of tradition, earlier explorers were led to place Gihon in the west or north of the City,[3] when the Biblical evidence we have quoted, supported by later ewish opinion, so definitely marks the Spring as on the cast. and in the Kidron valley ; where now nearly all the leading authorities are agreed as to its identification with the Virgin's Spring.[4]

Gihon the Virgin's Spring.

P.E.F.Q., 3891, 8o, and previous papers. Guthe has recently adhered to the view of a datc in David's or the Jebusite period (Hauck's *Real-Enc.* viii. **82,** line r1).
till front r *gi4* ;—on being a common termination in place - names.
The derivation by Chaplin *(P.E.F.Q.* 1890, 124) from lni, *to creep,* is not on pliable etymologically, and the meaning, ' place one needs to creep through,' due to.the tunnel, is open to the objection, stated by Birch *(ibid.* 200) that th blame, as we shall see, is older than the Tunnel.
Ki. 1. 33, 38; Rcland and De Vogiie adhered to the identification.
See above, p. 83 f.
[4] Furrcr in Schenkel's *B.L.* ii. 463 ; Conder, *P.E.F. Mem.,* Jerus.' 366 ; Cbsplin, *P.E.F.Q.,* 1890, 124; Birch, *F. E.F.Q.3* **1889, 208;** Robertson Smith,

There is, however, still earlier Biblical evidence for Gihon. King David sent Solomon *down* to be crowned at Gihon, and after the ceremony was over the company *came up* from Gihon to David." As the king was in the City of David ' on Ophel,[2] this is further proof, if it were needed, that Gihon lay in the valley of the Kidron. By David's time Gihon must have been a sacred and therefore an ancient well. We have thus every reason to believe that it was the original well of the City, whose position underneath the ridge of Ophel determined the choice of this ridge as the site of the earliest fortress. Upon the heaped rubbish at the foot of the now naked hill, and amid the squalid bustle which prevails there to-day, one forgets that this was the scene of Solomon's coronation. But in that day the precipitous rock with the fortress above it, the open cave with the mysterious intermittent fountain, apparently directed by an immediate supernatural agency, must have formed a fitting theatre for the first coronation of an Israelite King in Jerusalem.

Early evidence for Gih8n.

We now turn to the other name for a spring in the neighbourhood : 'En-rogel. This is usually rendered *Fuller's Spring ;* but *rogel is* not the Hebrew for *fuller,* and a more probable meaning is offered

'En-rogel.

Enc. Brit. 9th ed. ; Stade, *Gesch.* i. 294 ; Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker,* 5th ed. 98 ; Buhl, *G.A.P.* 93, etc. ; Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E. viii.* (5900) 670; Wilson, *Water Supply, etc.,* 1902, 7 ; the author's paper, *Expositor,* March 1903, 224; Masterman, *Bibl. World,* 1905, 99. Of course both Wilson and Guthe reached this conclusion much,earlier than the date of their statements referred to above.

[1] See below, p. rio.

[2] 1 Ki. i. 33, 38, 45; ;inn. The Heb. preposition means in, but that, with the name of a well, it may be used for *beside* is seen from r Sam. xxix. the Israelites pitched Ma, *beside the fountain.*

by the Syriac, *rogfilo,* current' or stream.'[1] En-rogel was either the Virgin's Spring or the Bir Eiyab, or some other spring in the Kidron valley now lost. The Biblical data are these. When David fled before Absalom, Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed in En-rogel, out of sight of the City, to obtain news of the progress of the revolt? When Adonijah set himself up as David's successor, on the same day as Solomon was crowned, *he sacrificed sheep, oxen, and failings by the stone of the Zoheleth, which is beside 'En-rogel.*[3] And the Priestly Code mentions 'En-rogel as the southmost point of the border between Judah and Benjamin, which thence turned north up *the valley of Hinnom to the shoulder of the Jebusite.*[4] On these data some have identified 'En-rogel with Gihon and the Virgin's Spring, because the latter is the only known spring now in the valley, or because the name Zoheleth is 'still attached to the rocky ascent to the village of Silwan; opposite the spring ; or because the Spring cannot be seen from the City, where Absalom was in power.° But the identification of the Virgin's Spring, which we have seen to be Gihon, is excluded by the narrative of Solomon's coronation there, from which the simultaneous feast 'of Adonijah at the stone Zoheleth was at such a distance that Adonijah's company could not see Solo-

Levy, *Chald. Worterbuch,* ii. 406. We need not ask, therefore, whether En-rogel had any thing to do with the *field of the fuller (Dajz)* which must lain outside the mouth of the Tyropceon. See above, p. 105.

[3] 1 Ki. i. 9.

2 Sam. Xvii. 17.

gosh. xv. 7, cf. xviii. 16. The issues of the border were at 'En-rogel, that is to say, its furthest point in the southerly direction.

[10] In the form Zehweileh ; CL-Ganneau *in P.E.E. Mem.,* Jerus.' 293.

Supporters of the identification of the Virgin's Spring with 'En-rogel are C.Ganneau, as above, Wilson (` possibly'), *Water-Supply, etc.,* 6 and elsewhere; Warren in Hastings' *D.E.* art. Hinnom.'

mon's, but only heard the noise of their jubilant return to the City ; nor did they learn what had taken place at Gihon till messengers came and told them.' Besides, the position assigned by the Priestly Code to 'En-rogel must either be at the mouth of the valley of Hinnom or to the south of that ; and with this agrees the statement of Josephus, that the spring near which Adonijah feasted lay in the king's paradise or garden? The Zoheleth, too, was a *stone,* that is, probably, a separate rock or boulder, not such a rocky incline as stands opposite the Virgin's Spring on the ascent to Silwan ; and if the name Zehweileh is to be brought into the argument, Dr. Masterman informs me that, though always pointed out by the villagers of Silwan as one definite smooth surface of rock, just below their houses, it appears to cover the long ridge running all the way on a definite line of strata, even as far as the Bir

[3] Besides, if the name is the same, it has drifted up the valley. On all these grounds, then, we are justified in concluding that 'En-rogel was not the Virgin's Spring, but lay some way off down the valley, and is either represented by the Bir Eiyilb, which, as we have seen, may represent an ancient spring,[4] or was a fountain now lost. It is possible to account for the disappearance of 'En-rogel, *the spring of the current* or *stream,* and the presence in its place of the deep well Bir Eiyilb, by such an earthquake and displacement of the hill-side, as Josephut describes having taken place at 'En-rogel. But *if* 'En-rogel was elsewhere in the neighbourhood, the same causes may now mask its true position; and send its waters trickling

1 r Ki. i. 41-46.

[2] vii. *Ant.* xiv. 4. On the other hand, *in* ix. *Ant.* x. 4, Josephus seems to place Eroge or 'En-rogel to the east, not the south, of the City: this, however, is not certain. 2 From a letter. [4] See above, p. zoo.

through the *debris* to feed the Bir Eiyab and the stream which in spring breaks out close by.' The 'Ain el-Lozeh seems rather far off to be identified with 'En-rogel.

It is possible that En-rogel is not always used in the Old Testament as the name of a spring. While waiting for information from the City to carry to David, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, anxious as they were to escape the notice of the people of Jerusalem, would hardly choose so public a place as a frequented Spring.[2] A suburban village would better suit their purpose, and the 'En-rogel of their story may well be such a village standing on the eastern bank of the Kidron valley, either on the site of the present Silwan or further to the south. It may also be a village which is intended by 'En-rogel in the delimitation of the frontier between Judah and Benjamin .s

En-rogel possibly also a village.

The question of Nehemiah's Spring of the Dragon we have already sufficiently discussed.[4] Nehemiah went towards it after coming out of the *Gate of the Gal* or *Hollow,* that is the Gai ben Hinnom, the present Wady er-Rababi ;[5] and before he reached the Dung Gate towards the end of the Ravine. The spring

The Dragon Spring.

I Among those who, on the Biblical data, place En-rogel at or near the Bir Eiytlb, are Robinson, Tobler, Thomson, Mommert, Socin and Benzinger 'probably'). Buhl, p. 943 agrees that the Bir Eiynb suits the Biblical evidence ; (Or 'Ea-rogel, and Guthe (671) says the latter was evidently near the con- +Action of the lidron and Hinnom valleys. The author feels that the additional arguments given above remove the objections candidly felt by of the above writers to this the only location for 'En-rogel which suits oho Biblical data.

I! jochh, xv. 7, xviii. 16.

*See above, p. 74. The Spring of the Dragon pm, Iv. The LXX. kw Well of the Figs, Dtuin, but the Hebrew text is confirmed by Lucian : r *Sorrel.*

[8] 2. Sam. xvii. 17.

[5] See below, p. 175 f.

was, therefore, in the Ravine, either some way up it, and if so, perhaps connected with the detached length of water-dourse we have seen there, or more probably near the mouth, where the considerable *debris* may now easily mask it.[1]

4. THE RESERVOIRS AND AQUEDUCTS.

I turn now from the real and reputed Springs of Jerusalem to the extraordinary artificial provision which the City shows for collecting the rain and surface water, and for bringing in supplies from a distance. Nothing of the ancient building has been so well preserved as the reservoirs, cisterns and conduits ; among all the remains none are so impressive as these vast and intricate monuments from every stage of the history. They prove how insufficient for the needs of the population the few springs were found to be ; and they, and not the springs, even when these waters were brought by conduits within the City, explain what several ancient writers have reported, that J erusalem was a well-watered fortress within surroundings arid and waterless.

The artificial water-supplies.

The first of these monuments which strike the *eye* of the visitor are the great tanks round and within the City. For number and size the like of them, all either now or once above ground, are to be seen in no other city of Palestine. It must be remembered,' writes Sir Charles Wilson,[2] 'that in time of war the water in all the collecting pools outside could be

The Great Surface Tanks,

[1] See above, p. Ioo f. Guthe (Hauck's *R.-B.* viii. 672) says : Either it is now sealed up, or is to be identified with Gihon or 'En-rogel.' The latter alternative is impossible on Nehemiah's data.

[2] In a letter to the author.

run into reservoirs within the walls : save that in the Birket es-Sultan, which could be run to waste down the valley.' The difficulty about them is that we are so little able to fix the dates of their construction.

We may begin with the Birket es-Sultan in the Wady et'-Rababi, beneath the western city-wall and the road to Bethlehem, which crosses the Wady by the r. darn on the south of the Pool. This Pool of be Sultan' is 555 feet N. to S. by 22o E. to W. (just over 169 metres by 67). The northern wall is ruined. Here the depth was some 36 feet (nearly It m.), but the bed declines, partly with the natural slope of the valley and partly by an excavation in the rock at the southern end, to a depth Of` ,over 42'5 feet (13 m.). The pool is named either from th · fact that it is the great' or grand pool,'[1] or from its reconstruction by the Sultan Suleiman ibn Selim, in th middle of the 16th century. By the Crusaders it was called Germanus, after the Frank Knight who recovered the Elyilb and is said to have built the Pool in 1176 A.D.[2] A Pool, however, may have existed here from an early Jewish period. Sir Charles Wilson writes : I think it is ancient, or that there was a pool in the same position to receive surplus water from the Low Level Aqueduct, which to be the oldest conduit bringing water from a distance:[3]

The Sultan's Pool.

To the north-west of this, in the Wady el-Mes, the head of the W. er-Rababi, is the Birket Mamilla. Lying from east to west, it is 292 feet (89 m.) long by 193 (almost 59 in.) broad, and 19·5 (6) m. deep.

2. The Pool Mamilla.

Ma1Arettllitil.
IICAriCht. *Gerrit. d. Iivnug,. fans.* 415 ; *R.egesta Regni Maas. 133, Lg.*
41.10. letter to the author. Cf. Benzinger, in *Baedeker,* 5th ed. 25, 103.

Its age and origin are unknown. It has been identified with *the upper pool* of the Book of Isaiah,' but for this it seems too far from the city walls ; and in all probability *the fuller's field* mentioned in connection with *the upper pool* lay in the Kidron valley.[2] Equally uncertain is the identification of the Mamilla Pool with the Serpent's Pool of Josephus.[2] Sir Charles Wilson, who judges this Pool to be also old,[4] supports the identification.[5] Others have suggested the Beth Memel of the Talmud.[6]

In the east wall of the Mamilla Pool is an outlet from which a conduit leads south-eastward by the Jaffa Gate[7] to a great Pool lying in the cross valley, between the West and South-west Hills, and known to-day as the Birket kiammam el-Batrak, or Pool of the Patriarch's Bath. It is about 240 feet long from north to south, 144 broad, and from 19 to 24 feet deep (73 by 44 by 6 to 7i metres). The porous rock of the bed has been levelled and covered with a cement of small stones and lime. The eastern wall, against which, as the lower side of the pool, the chief weight of the water rests, has been proved by Dr. Schick's observations to be especially massive.[5] There are some indications that the Pool may have formerly extended further to the north. Some 6o feet in this direction of it, a cement was

3. Pool of the Patriarch's Bath.

vii. 3 ; xxxvi. 2 (2 Ki. xviii. 17).

See above, p. 105.

[8] V. *B.J.* HI. 2 : Titus levelled ` all the place from Scopus to IIerod's monuments which adjoin the Pool called that of the Serpents,' pa/ Nieto *brucallovitev p KOMINVOn.*

[4] In a letter to the author. [5] *Water Supply,* etc., 9.

[6] Erilbin,' 51 b, ' Sanhedrin' 24 a ; cf. Bereshilli Rabba,' : cited by Kuemmel, *Materialien z. Topogr. des alt. 'ems.* 152.

[7] Warren, *Recovery ofJerus. 237.*

[8] *Z.D. P. V.*, 1885, 270; 1891, 49; *P. E. F. Q.*, 1891, 276 f. with plan; 1897, 107.

uncovered of the same character as that on the bottom of the Pool, and beyond it a massive wall, nearly II feet thick, in which the squared stones resemble some of apparently the most ancient in the Haram wall. For these reasons a high antiquity has been ascribed to the Pool. It is tolerably certain that it is identical with the Amygdalon Pool or Pool of the Towers, mentioned by Josephus' as the scene of the labours of the Tenth Legion under Titus. As their occupation took place after Titus had captured the Second Wall, the latter apparently ran outside the Pool; but to this we shall return. By calling the pool Hezekiah's Pool, recent explorers have assigned it to his reign *he made the pool and the conduit, and brought water within the City.*[2] They have even identified with it the *lower 'Vol* of the Book of Isaiah in distinction from the *upper pool,* the Pool Mainilla.[2] But we have seen reason to place ilezekiah's Pool and Conduit in the Kidron Valley ; and thc • is no evidence to carry back the Pool of the Patriitieh's Bath to so remote a period.

In this north-western part of the City, outside the course of '•Lite First Wall, other tanks have been discovered by excanation, or are recorded in documents. To 4, 5, 6. Three pearnks the cast of the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, or oviuerp1 low down the same branch valley south of Tyropoeon. the 51tiristan, lies an old tank about 130 feet from east to west, and so north and south (about 4o by 15 metres). To th north-east of it lies another, which is, at least, 130 feet north and south, by 15 east and west. In the twelfth century there appears to have been a large pool near the

J. xi. 4: xoXviii940pav '1144-y8aXop, that is iN iaori Jinn. See *Jitow.,* **Jett's.' 8.**

20. [3] Isai. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2, xxii. 9.

head of the Tyropoeon valley. A charter of 1177 names it the Lacus Legerii ;[1] and in ancient Arab title-deeds, the vicinity is called klaret el-Birkeh, the Quarter of the Pool:[2] No trace of it has been discovered. Sir Charles Wilson suggests that it fed the rock-hewn conduit on the East Hill, which may have been *the conduit of the upper pool.'*

North of the Temple Area, on the line of the subsidiary valley that in this quarter ran down to the Kidron, are other reservoirs. The so-called Twin-Pools, closely adjoining the north-west corner of Antonia, lie side by side. The longer, to the west, is 165 feet by zo (just over 5o metres by 6), the shorter is 127 feet by 20 (nearly 39 metres by 6). They are fed by the conduit from the north, which has been traced to beyond the present wall, just opposite the west end of the knoll Edhemiye. They are covered by arches of unknown date, but M. Clermont-Ganneau identifies them with the Pool Strouthion, over against the middle of which Josephus says that the fifth legion, under Titus, raised a ramp against Antonia,s and thinks that they were roofed over during the period of Aelia Capitolina. Some have taken them to be the Twin Pools, which Eusebius, Jerome, and the Bordeaux Pilgrim identified with Bethesda.[4] Dr. Masterman thinks it probable that they did not exist until after the destruction of the City by Titus, for they are made inside the great moat of the fortress Antonia.'[5]

7. The Twin-Pools.

Riihricht, *Reg. Regni Hieras.Nc.* 543 p. 144- But see *Z.D.P. V. i.* 96.
[2] CL-Ganneau (who was the first to point out the reference); Wilson, *Water supply,* 8, I I.
[3] v. B.J. *xi.* 4 : *TijS* 2TpOUOLOU KCCX014.46·7/S KOXMCCINepaS.
[4] *P.E.F. Mem.,* Jesus.' 209 ff., 263 f. with plan.
[5] *81W. World,* 1905, 96.

East from these, and against the eastern wall of the City and the north side of the Haram, lies the Birket Israll or Isra'in, the Pool of Israel: a large open reservoir, 36o feet from east to west, by t:16 from north to south (about Ito metres by 38). It has king been dry and has filled up with rubbish, the present level of which is about 69 feet (21 metres) below that of the Haram area. As in the case of the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, the eastern wall, the lower courses of which form the continuation of the Haram wall, is a massive dam some 46 feet (14 metres) in thickness. Two o acts gave passage to the waters into the Kidron valley. S. Charles Warren, who explored the walls, describes the arrangements for the regulation of the outflow and the alterations upon the original structure.' The Pool has a itouble bottom, the lower of small stones in mortar, the upper of a hard cement. The masonry of the thick dam, like that adjoining in the north-east corner of the Haram, appears to be from the Roman period, to which also Antonia belongs. Josephus does not seem even to allude to such a Pool, which would be strange if this existed at the time of the siege of Titus ; and yet it is impossible to assign to it an origin subsequent to this, unless the alterations on the original structure which Sir Charles Warren reports as Byzantine. Messrs. Socin and Benzinger do not hesitate to carry it back to the pre-exilic Jewish period.[4] It was identified by pilgrims with the Sheep-pool of John's Gospels and from the twelfth century

8. Pool of Israel.

[1] *Affirm.* 163 ff. ; *P.E.F. Men:., Jesus.'* 122 ff.; Masterman, Warkti 1905, 94; Kuemmel, *Materialien* z. alt. *Tatar:..Terns.* 114 ff., [illegible] *Waif,* 5th ed., 25 ; also Kuemmel, *Afaterialien, etc.,* 151.
v. 2, if indeed Sheep-pool be meant here.

with Bethesda, but, as Dr. Masterman observes, there is no evidence of arcades around it.

North of this, and on the west side of the Church of St. Anne, beneath vaults on which rest the remains of probably two Churches, is a pool cut out of the rock on at least two sides, 55 feet long and 12 broad (almost 17 metres by 3.8), with another beside it.[1] No trace of a spring has been found or an aqueduct : the water, which gathers sometimes to the depth of 20 feet, is immediately drawn from the surface. There can be no doubt that we have here the twin pools which, from the time of Eusebius[2] at least till the end of the sixth century, were identified with the Pool of Bethesda ; but from that to the pool actually intended by S. John is, as we shall find, a far cry indeed.[3]

9. Twin Pools at St. Anne's.

A little to the east of this, but outside the City wall, is the Birket Hammam Sitti Maryam, the Pool of the Bath of our Lady Mary ; 93 feet by 75, and 13 deep (28.3, 23, and 4 metres). It is quite modern, and made in the rubbish':[4] yet old enough to have attracted to itself, besides its usual name, several others of equal value : Pool of the Tribes, Dragon-Well, and Hezekiah's Cistern: a remarkable proof of how quickly absolutely false traditions spring up from this teeming soil.

10. Pool of the Virgin.

In his excavations upon Ophel, Dr. Guthe discovered on the back of the ridge two small tanks, one south-west of the Virgin's Spring, measuring about 66 feet by 10 (2o by 3 metres), and the other, lower down near Siloam, 5o feet by 16 (about

12. Two Tanks on Ophel.

1 *P.E.F.Q.*, 1888, 117 ff. ; *Z.D.P. V.* xi. 178 *ff.* [2] *Onorn. Sacr. p*n*eco-Sa,*
[3] See below, chapter on the Gospels. [4] Sir Charles Wilson in a letter,

15 by 4.9 metres).[1] It is natural that in this older and narrower part of the City, the tanks should be smaller than the others we have surveyed, which had larger areas to draw from, and probably belonged to a later age.

Of the real and reputed pools in the mouth of the Tyropceon valley and in the Kidron valley, I have written sufficiently above.[2] The Upper and Lower Pools of Siloam, the Birket Silwan and the Birket el-Hamra, are the only two in existence on the surface to-day, and no doubt represent pools in the same position in the time of Hezekiah and earlier. But there were other pools in connection with the same water system or Shiloah : and probably, as we have seen, one near the Virgin's Spring itself. But the whole valley region here, on which rubbish has so deeply gathered, requires further excavation.

13, 14. Upper and Lower Pools of Siloam.

Besides all these open, or once open, reservoirs within or immediately round the City, two others have been discovered at some distance from the northern wall. One is in the Wady ej-Joz, near the Nablus road,[3] where a pool still forms in winter. This is pit of an old pool once connected with the water supply of the City.'[4] The other one lies in the neighbourhood, and is hewn entirely in the rock.[5]

15, 16. Two Pools to the North of the City.

Next to the open tanks of Jerusalem must be mentioned the equally remarkable series of reservoirs under the Temple Area. Of these some thirty-six or thirty-seven are known, and have been surveyed. Full lists and descriptions of them will be found

The Temple Cisterns.

[1] *ZAP. V.* v. 334 f. ; see Tafel viii.
Pages 97, 98, 105, rob.
Sir Charles Wilson in a letter to the author.
[3] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, 9 ff.
[5] *P.E.F.Q.*, 1892, 289.

in the under-mentioned works.' Here we may confine ourselves to their general characteristics and outstanding features. They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns ; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the lower-lying *meleki* rock,[2] 30, 40, 50, and 6o feet deep (one of them, ' the Great Sea,' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented ; their roofs of the harder upper *mizzen* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry ; with channels of communication, passages for inspection, and conduits for draining the water at different levels.[3] Sir Charles Wilson has noted that none of these larger basins are found north of the Dome of the Rock." Their enormous capacity was fed by the great aqueduct from Bethlehem. When they were full, one can understand how even a very large garrison could face a siege without fear of a famine of water, while their besiegers suffered in the waterless environs.

Beneath the rest of the City there are some public reservoirs, one of which, the Hammam esh-Shefa, was once perhaps a surface basin, whose walls, as the rubbish rose through various generations, were heightened yard by yard, and finally roofed over. ' There is no trace,' writes Sir Charles Wilson, `of a pool or cistern in the krammam esh-Shela shaft and gallery. There is only a small cemented basin in which the water collects. Most of the water is certainly derived from surface drainage, that is, water percolating through the

The Dammam esh-Shefd.

Recovery of fey-us. 204 ff.; P.E.F. Mem., Jerus.' 217 ff., with plan, (Conder) ; *P.E.F.Q.,* 188o, with plans ; Schick, *Stfishutte u. Tempel, 292* (not seen) ; and a clear and detailed catalogue founded on the foregoing in Kuemmel's *Materialien, etc., 553 ff.*

[2] See above, p. 55. [3] *P.E.F. Mem.* 162, 165. [4] *Recovery ofJerus. 57.*

rubbish, but some may possibly be derived from a small " spring in the valley.". Other larger cisterns exist in Antonia, and to the east of the Church of the Sepulchre ; and two were examined by Dr. Schick outside the Damascus Gate.[2]

Even more characteristic of Jerusalem than all these more or less public works, are the innumerable domestic cisterns.. The modern excavator may be said to come upon them everywhere in the living rock, or in the rubbish of all possible ages. Upon Ophel, the site of the primitive City, Dr. Guthe uncovered a great number.[3] To the north of the City the Survey Plan is dotted with the name.[4] To-day virtually all the houses have cisterns, fed from the rain which falls on the vaulted roofs or trickles through their surroundings .[5] In the new town, to the north and north-west, no house of any size is built without one or more. A hotel-keeper in that quarter told me during the drought of 1901, that he had water stored sufficient for all his purposes for three years I The cisterns of Jerusalem are of various kinds. Four of these have been distinguished by Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren : the flagon or bottle-like cisterns, with a wide body in the soft *meleki* rock, but with narrow necks in the harder upper *mizzeh ;* cavities hewn

Domestic Cisterns.

[1] *Ina* letter to the author. But see above, p. 84.
1890, i i f., with plan.
$ ZD.P.V. v. 336, with Tafel viii.
[4] *Cf.* Schick's plan *P.E.F.Q.,* 5890, opposite p. 9, and Schick's Map of the nearer environs of the City, *Z.D.P. V.* See below, Bk. ii. ch. iii., on the City Lands. For cisterns on S.W. I-Ell see Schick, *Z.D.P.V.* viii. 42
That in earlier times the roofs were not all, at least, of stone, is proved by the discovery during an excavation in the Tyropceon of one of the stone 'Olen commonly used in Palestine for keeping hard and close the clay-cowed timber roofs. *P.E.F. Mem.* 182 f.

in the rock, of irregular form, with natural roofs and man-holes through them ; shallower basins in the rock covered by vaulted masonry ; and pits built in the rubbish'

Dating as they do from all periods of the history—repeated, altered, and replacing each other on different levels of the gradually rising surface of the city—these innumerable cisterns, public and private, prove very distinctly that the people of Jerusalem have always depended for their water, *in the main,* upon the collection and storage of the rains and the surface percolations. Their springs, as we have seen, were and could only be few, hardly more than two or three in number. These sprang besides on the lowest step of the city's rapidly descending site, and were liable to be tainted, as the Virgin's Spring is to-day, with sewage from the town above them. Hence the dependence of the inhabitants upon the rain itself, and the carefulness with which they gathered its direct supplies.

Significance of the Cisterns.

But even these, in addition to the springs, proved insufficient as the population increased, and water had to be introduced into the city from other sources. If we take a circle with a radius of ten miles (about sixteen kilometres) from Jerusalem as a centre, we find, besides many weak or inconstant springs, several that are both copious and steady. We may pass over such as the 'Ain el-Muhandis and the `Ain el-1:164 on the east of, the 'Ain el-Mudawara and `Ain es-Si wan on the north of, the Mount of Olives, the `Ain er-Rawas due west of the city, the springs about Welej, the 'Ain Yale) and the 'Ain el-tlaniyeh by the railway in the Wady of the latter name—for these are

Water Supplies at a Distance.

"all unsuitable either from their size or the level at which they stand. And in this western direction, there is no use crossing the Wady Kuloniyeh to the springs on its other side. The water of the springs at Lifts, 'Ain Karim and Bittir is often carried into Jerusalem in skins on the backs of donkeys ; but the springs themselves lie too low to be tapped by aqueducts to the City. Perhaps the most remarkable fountain in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is the 'Ain Farah in the Wady of that name, about five and a half miles (nine kilometres) to the north-east of the City. Here a considerable stream of pure water bursts from the rocks ; but the source is several hundred feet below the level of the City.' At ej-Jib, the Biblical Gibeon, there are eight springs, some of them large, and a great ancient reservoir. The place is only five and a half miles (or nine kilometres) from Jerusalem, but the difference of level—the village itself stands 2533 feet (772 metres) above the sea—does not seem to have been great enough, or the intervening difficulties were too great, for the construction of an aqueduct.

On this side of the City there remains the good spring at el-Birch, the ancient Be'eroth, eight and a half miles (nearly fourteen kilometres) north of the City, and 2820 feet (about 86o metres) above the sea. It has been supposed that an aqueduct once led from this into the north of Jerusalem. There at cuttings in the rock here and there along the ancient road between them ; there is the old reservoir in the Wady ej-Joz, and aqueducts have been traced upwards out of the City beyond the north wall. All this

Possible thuect North.

I One is sorry to hear of buildings recently erected at this beautiful spring in the *desert* of Benjamin.

makes plausible the hypothesis of an aqueduct from el-Bireh, or possibly, if the levels suit (but of this I am ignorant), one from ej-Jib. Yet, as Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out to me," some traces of a work of such magnitude would surely have been noticed before ; one finds many cuttings like aqueducts' ; and the reservoir in W. ej-Joz and the underground aqueducts coming up under the north wall may have been only for the gathering and direction of the surface waters.

From this uncertainty on the north of the City we turn to the two very certain and considerable aqueducts which reach it from the south ; and first we consider the groups of springs which feed them. About six and a half miles (nearly eleven kilometres) south-west of Jerusalem, and nearly two miles from Bethlehem, lies the small Wady 'Arms, distinguished by the three great reservoirs known as Solomon's Pools, 2616 feet (797 metres) above the sea. About these there spring five good sources of water : furthest west and close to the present Hebron road, the 'Ain Saleh, known for the last three centuries as *the Sealed Fountain*,[2] near it an unnamed spring, in the lowest reservoir the 'Ain Fariljeh,[3] on the slope to the south-west the 'Ain 'Atan, and further east the 'Ain 'Arms, by the village of the same name. A mile and a half south of the Pools, in the Wady el-Biar on the *old* Hebron road, is the 'Ain el-Magharah, to the south-east of it high up the 'Ain Faght'r,[4] and a mile and a half further south, but in the same Wady, the 'Ain ed-Derej. Two miles further south or nearly twelve from Jerusalem, in the Wady 'Arrub, there is another remarkable group of

Springs in the Wadies `Aortas' Mr, and `Arrab.

In a letter, 1903.

[3] So Baedeker, 129.

[2] Song of Sol. iv. 12.

[4] The Phagir of the Greek version of Josh. xv. 29.

g'prings, the Ras el-'Ain or Fountainhead, the 'Ain el 'Arrilb and others ; with a reservoir, the Birket : all about 2740 feet (835 metres) above the sea. All of these clear, and most of them copious, springs, were in ancient times built in and connected by conduits with the two great aqueducts which we have now to consider, and which are known respectively as the Low and the High - Level Aqueducts.

The Low Level Aqueduct has been wholly preserved, and after several alterations, ancient and recent, still carries water from Solomon's Pools to the Temple Area. But before we follow this aqueduct, it is necessary to speak of a later one which was formed from the springs in the Wady 'Arrab in order to increase the supply for Solomon's Pools. Leaving the reservoir in the Wady 'Arrtlb, this aqueduct runs south-east, and then east on the left bank of the Wady, turning at last north up the Wady Menje, and so across the Bils- ' at Tekua', and round the various hills and Wady banks to the north on countless curves, till at last it issues into the middle pool o(the three called Solomon's.' This extraordinary channel covers the direct distance of a little over five miles (8.3 kilom.) in a winding course of some-thing over twenty-five miles (over 4o kilom.). The fall is approximately from 2740 feet in the W. 'Arrab to 2600 feet at the middle Solomon's Pool ; 140 feet or tearly forty-three metres. Starting from the lowest :Tool, the Low Level Aqueduct receives almost im-nediately, by a conduit, the water of the 'Ain 'Atari, and

The Low Level Aqueduct.

This may be easily followed on the *large P.E.F. Mat*, Sh. xxi., or on &hick and Benzinger's Map of the Weitere Umgebung von Jerusalem,' *Z.D.P.V.* xix. 1896.

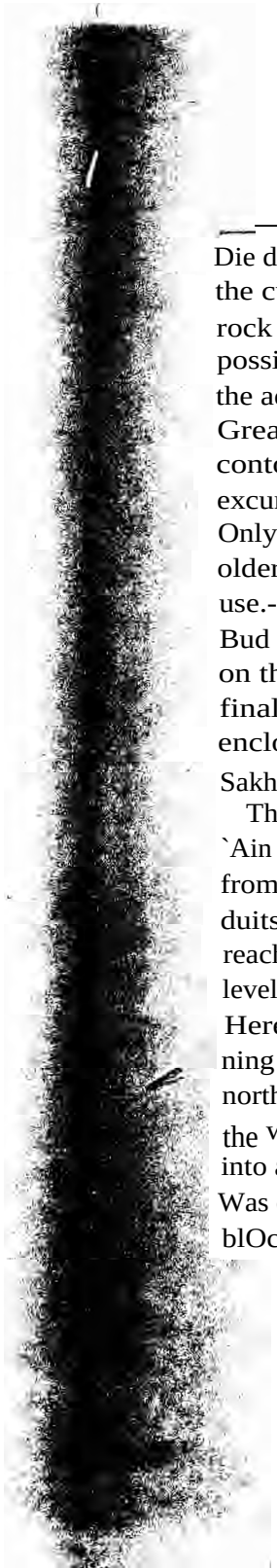
proceeds down the bed of the Wady till it has passed `Artas. Then it bends northwards, and piercing the hill of Bethlehem by a tunnel encompasses in many a curve the hill on which Sur Bahir lies. Then passing through a second tunnel [1] on the west of Ras el Makabir, it winds round the Jebul Deir Abu Tar, and so along the right bank of the Wady er-Rababi to above the Sultan's Pool, where on arches[2] it crosses the Wady about the 2409 contour.[3] From this it bends south and runs round the South-west Hill for the most part in a rock-cut channel. The course is outside the ancient City wall till it has passed the south-west angle of this. At iv feet east of the angle, 26 feet east of his Tower II., Dr. Bliss found that the smooth-faced masonry of the wall had been broken to effect the entrance of the aqueduct, and then repaired.[4] But before the conduit enters the ancient City, he discovered, running above and more or less parallel to it, an older aqueduct hewn wholly in the rock, which sharply bends into the ancient City immediately under Tower and continues north-east on a line previously unearthed by Sir Charles Warren,° to a great tower round which it curiously twists to avoid either the tower itself or the - rock chambers over which this is built. Further on Sir Charles Warren ' found it to be crossed and used by the. later Lower Level Aqueduct ; the two follow parallel courses for a long distance.'[7] Dr. Bliss has lucidly stated

[1] Recently turned into a tank in connection with the new water-works.- Wilson, *Water Supply,* etc., 3, 9.

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem,* **23.**

On the Ordnance Survey Map ; between the 732 and 735 metre contours on Kuemmel's Map.

[4] *Exec:v. at Jaws.* **24.** [5] *Id. 54.* [6] *Ibid.* and *Reeov. °flaw.* **2 33.** *.Excay. atJerus. 56.*



Die different dates, from Solomon to Pontius Pilate, which the curious relations of this aqueduct to the tower and rock chambers suggest,[1] but no certain conclusion is possible on the data. The anterior puzzle remains, why the aqueduct was driven so far north as to encounter the Great Tower and the chambers. It touches the 2,429 contour line at Tower ii., and returns to that after its excursion to, and singular embrace of, the Great Tower. Only this seems clear, that the aqueduct in question is an older line of the Low Level Aqueduct than that now in use.- The Low Level Aqueduct, after bending round the Bud el-Kibrit about the 2,419 contour line,[2] passes north on the great scarp above the Tyropceon valley,[3] and finally crosses this by Wilson's Arch to the Temple enclosure, where it fed the great cisterns south of the Sakhra rock.

The High Level Aqueduct started from a reservoir at the `Ain ed-Derej in the Wady el-Biar. By a long tunnel reached from the surface by many shafts, and by conduits from the other springs in the 'Wady, it reached the Wady ,in which the Pools lie on a level about 15o feet above that of the Low Level Aqueduct. Here it could receive the water of the 'Ain Sal* Running down the cArtas Wady to opposite (Artfis, it turned north, passing Bethlehem about three-eighths of a mile to the west, to the Tomb of Rachel. Here it had to descend into and climb out of the valley. The passage of the water Was effected in an inverted syphon of perforated limestone blOcks, forming a stone tube fifteen inches in diameter.'[4]

The High Level Aqueduct.

[1] *Id.* **332.** -

[2] Between the 726 and 729 metre contours on Kuemmel's Map. **See** above, P. 35.

[4] Wilson, *Water Supply, etc. :* about 381 mm.

Over the hill TantOr it proceeded to cross the plain Bukei 'a, where, however, its course is not certain. How it entered the city we cannot tell. Possibly its water flowed into the Pool Mamilla (or round this) and by the conduit which enters the City north of the citadel and feeds the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath. Or its course may have been an ancient conduit discovered through the Russian property on the north-west of the City and entering the latter at Goliath's Castle. In either case it arrived upon a level from which it was possible for the water to reach both the North-west Hill and the gardens of Herod's Palace on the South-West Hill. Here were deep conduits bronze-fitted, and large enough to serve as refuges.[2]

Dates of the Two Aqueducts.

The dates of these two Aqueducts from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem, and of the two conduits which fed them from the Wady el 'Arrilb and the W. el Bids respectively, have formed the subject of much discussion. It is doubtful if even approximate results can be reached. A few years ago Pere Germer Durand discovered on one of the perforated blocks of the syphon in the High Level Aqueduct the letters cos I. Clement,' which is the name of Tineius Clemens, consul in 195 A.D. under the Emperor Severus ;[3] and on other stones the names of several centurions have been carved. The aqueduct was accordingly assigned to the reign of Severus with considerable certainty.'[4] But these inscriptions may

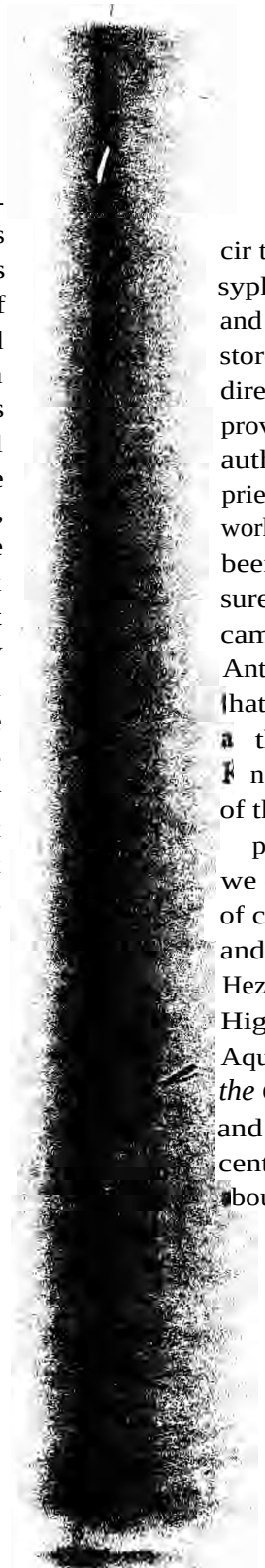
[1] The *largeP.E.F. Map,Sh.xxi.,* traces it parallel to the highroad on the west.
[2] Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 4, ii. *B.J.* xvii. 9.
[3] *Revue Bibl.,* 1903, io6 ff.; CL -Ganneau, *Rec. d' archeologie Orientale,* iv. 206 ff. For other inscriptions recently found see *P.E.F.Q.,* 5905, 75
[4] Schiirer, *Gesch. (3)* 490 n. 146: further on in the same note the possibility that the names attest only the repair of the Aqueduct is admitted.

record not the construction but only the repair of the Aqueduct ; a hypothesis which is rendered certain by the need of assuming the existence of the Aqueduct in Herod's time in order to feed the conduits in the gardens of his palace on the South-west Hill' Roman engineers, it seems certain, used the inverted syphon, as well as the aqueduct raised on arches to bring water across valleys. But there is also evidence that the syphon was possible in Palestine at an earlier date, either under Herod or even before him.[2] Herod's reign may therefore be taken as the lower limit for the date of the construction of the High Level Aqueduct. As to the date of the Low Level Aqueduct, running into the Temple area, the lowest limit is the Procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. According to Josephus Pilate brought water to Jerusalem. By which aqueduct and to what exact destination is not noted ; but, as he used the sacred money for the purpose (and even he would hardly have dared to do this for an aqueduct that did not directly supply the Temple) we may take it as probable that the Low Level Aqueduct is the one intended. The distance of 200 stadia (fifteen miles) which Josephus gives to it in one passage[3] is fairly suitable to the length of the Low Level Aqueduct, including its windings, from the Pools to the Temple, but rather much for the direct distance from its furthest supplies in the W. el 'Arrilb to Jerusalem. In another passage, if the reading be correct, he says it was 400 stadia.[4] But if Pilate's work relates to the Low Level Aqueduct between the Pools and the Temple, it can only have been a work of restoration ; for there is evidence

Jos, v. *B.J.* iv. 4, ii. *B.J.* xvii. 9.
lt Wilson, *Water Supply,* ro f. *P.E.F.Q.,* 19o5, 77.
I Jos. xviii. *Ant.* iii. 2.
[4] Jos. ii. *B.J.* ix. 4 : the Lat. and Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* **viii. 2, 122** read 300.

that the Aqueduct was the construction of Herod. Josephus says that Herod brought water at great expense to his fortress of Herodeion,' Jebel el- Fureidis, south-west of Bethlehem, and this is apparently the Aqueduct traced by the Ordnance Survey from the Pools to the site in question.[2] But Dr. Schick states that the structure of this Herodian aqueduct is the same as that of the Low Level Aqueduct.[3] If this be correct Herod was the author of the latter,[4] and in that case probably of the older branch of it, uncovered by Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hi11,[5] while the other and later one at that place may have been the work of Pilate.° The Talmud states that water was brought to the Temple from 'En Etham,[7] in which we may recognise the 'Ain 'Atan, whose waters, we have seen, feed the Low Level Aqueduct a little below the Pools.[8] The Low Level Aqueduct thus being in all probability the work of Herod (along with the two lower Pools, as we may presume), we may take the High Level Aqueduct, extant in his day, to be the work of an older generation : for it is very unlikely that Herod should have constructed both. Dr. Schick is of opinion that the structure of the High Level Aqueduct is the older.[9] Yet we are quite without evidence as to what earlier age than Herod's to attribute it. The remarkable fact is, that no record should have survived

[1] Jos. *xv. Ant.* ix. 4, I B.J. *xxi.* 10.
[2] *Large P.E.F. Map,* Sheets xvii. xxi.
[3] *Z.D.P.V.i.* 132 *ff.*
[4] So too Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* 686.
* See above, p. 126.
[6] But there have been at least three other restorations of the viaduct, by Mahmud ibn Kilawfin about 1300, by Suleiman the Magnificent about 1542, and in 1865.
[7] *Talnz. Jer.* Yoma,' 31a ; cf. `Zebablm ' 54b, and PesahIm ' 1°0.
[8] See above, p. 125.
[9] Compare also the very definite opinion of Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker,* 5th ed. 129.



cir the construction of so considerable a public work. The syphon upon it tempts one to put it in the Greek Period, and here the long reign of Hyrcanus I. (135-125), who had stores of money, enlarged his territory by conquests in all directions, and achieved some considerable water-works,' provides us with the possibility. Yet had Hyrcanus been the author, Josephus would surely have said so. The high priesthood of Simon, the son of Onias, with its great public works [2] is also tempting, but had the High Level Aqueduct been made by him or one of his predecessors we should surely have heard of its existence during the Maccabean campaigns in that quarter, or the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus NM. (135-4 B.c.). Of this only can we be sure, that there is no evidence in the Bible of either aqueduct a the work, or as extant in the days, of the pre-exilic K ngs of Judah. Dr. Bliss's suggestion that the older branch of the Low Level Aqueduct on the South-west Hill may perhaps the work of Solomon,[3] rests on conditions which we do not yet understand. The name Solomon's Pools,' of course, proves nothing ; and even if the Mamilla Pool and its conduit into the City were extant in the days of Hezekiah,[4] they would not involve the existence of the High Level Aqueduct. Neither this nor the Low Level Aqueduct can be traced in time behind the reign of Herod *the* Great. It is very probable that the latter is his work : and the most likely date for the former is the previous century, when Timochares tells us that the whole town abounded in running water.[5]

Jos. xiii. Ant. x.
♦*Exam. atjerus.* 332.
* See above, p. 84.
[2] Ecclesiasticus 1. I ff.
[4] See above, p. [11]4 f.

The long study we have pursued is full of dark details, and we leave it baffled by many of the answers of which we have been in search. Yet it has its own prizes, and they are more precious than those of topographical certainty. We cannot have worked through this series of water-systems without a vivid imagination of the secular, ceaseless labours which produced them, or devoid of a profound sympathy with the hopes which their meagre results excited in the hearts of their authors.

Moral Results of this study.

In casting our imagination along the history of Jerusalem, we are apt to be content with recalling her walls, temples, palaces and markets, and with the endeavour to reconstruct from these alone the full picture of her interests and activities. But preliminary to war, worship, trade and every kind of art, woven through them all and—on those high and thirsty rocks—more constant than any, was the struggle for water. Nature lent but a grudging assistance. Nor if we go behind Herod and the construction, at his comparatively late date, of the great Aqueducts which we have just been following, are there any arches or other imperishable structures to bear witness that genius for architecture; imperial wealth, or the power which could command hordes of slaves ever atoned, as in other waterless cities, for the absence of physical resources. The work, outside the great aqueducts, was all done by the citizens under pressure of their daily needs, by petty kings hurriedly providing against sieges, by statesmen with limited revenues in a nation of small capacity for building. What thrift and storage of scanty supplies ! The dykes of Holland, piled to keep the water out, tell no more eloquent tale of the labour of centuries, the piety and resolution of many

The ceaseless struggle for water.

enerations, than does this story of what Jerusalem has done to keep the waters in—the rock cisterns of her early days ; the desperate care to bring the springs within the walls out of reach of besiegers ; the execution of tunnels and pools by men hardly apprenticed to the art of engineering ; the struggle to keep pace with the rise of the City's levels above the sunken sources of the past ; and finally, the long aqueducts and deep reservoirs of more numerous and civilised generations.

When all these labours, before the last, resulted in such moderate achievements, when the reservoirs and springs were liable to be exhausted by the failure of the . rains, and the parched gardens scarcely relieved the barrenness of the landscape, do we wonder, that as the mirage of the desert appears to the "parched traveller like pools and lakes, so the hopes of this ,thirsty people assumed the form of streams and rivers about their Holy City ? It is only such a study as we have come through that can furnish us with full sympathy for these words of Psalmist and Prophet :

Effect on the hope of the people.

There is a River which gladdens the City of our God.' And. lie brought vie back to the door of the House; and lo, waters issued from under the threshold of the House eastward . . . and it was a river I could not pass through, for the waters were risen, waters to swim in, a river that could not be forded.[2]

But there the LoRD will be with us in majesty, a place qf broad rivers and streams; wherein shall go no galley 'with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the Wen is our Judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is •,.r King: He will save us.[3]

's.xlvi. 4. [2] Ezek. xlvii. 5. [3] Is. xxxiii. 21 ff.

CHAPTER VI

SION, OPHEL AND THE. CITY OF DAVID'

NE of the two cardinal questions of the topography of Jerusalem stated in Chapter II. is that of the position of Sion, the Jebusite fortress which David captured, and which was called there- *The City of David,* or (more properly translated) *David's-Burgh.* To this question there are two possible answers. *First,* till a few years ago it was the general opinion, received by tradition from the time of Josephus, that the South-west Hill, the most massive and dominant of the heights of Jerusalem, was not only an integral part of the City from before the days of David, but contained also the citadel he captured from the Jebusites and remained the centre of political and military power under the kings of Judah. This traditional view is expressed in the present nomenclature of the South-west Hill. The Tomb of David is believed to lie there, and there is placed the site of the Palace of Solomon, from which a bridge or raised causeway across the central valley is supposed to have served for the passage of the king when he *went up* to the Temple. The southern gate of the present City opening on the Hill is called Bab en-Neby Gate of the Prophet David,' or Bab Sahyun, Sion-Gate.' The Citadel-tower is known as David's Tower,'

Rival Sites— South-west and East h ills.

arid the Hill, as a whole, is called by Christians Mount Sion.' *Second,* the opposite view is that Sion, and by consequence the City of David,' lay on the East Hill on the part called Ophel, just above the Virgin's Spring ; that Mount Sion came to be the equivalent in the Old Testament of the Temple Mount ; that the location of the 'City of David' by the present Jaffa gate was due to an error by Josephus, and that there is no trace of the name Sion being applied to the South-west Hill till we come some way down the line of Christian tradition. The supporters of this second view are divided as to when the South-west Hill was brought within the City; some think in Jebusite times, some by David, some by Solomon, some by the eighth-century kings, and some not till the Greek or Maccabean period. These subsidiary questions may be postponed till we reach their periods in the history. But the other, whether the South-west or the East Hill was the site of Sion and the City of David,' is so fundamental as to require a separate and preliminary treatment.

There is more than one way of conducting this important debate.. We might follow the interesting course which it has taken in modern times from the date of The Course gobinson, when the South-west Hill was (f)otowing vnemlly accepted as Mount Sion, to the argument. present day, when the most of the authorities, some of om had previously taken the other view, place the nal Sion upon Ophel. Or we might start, as so many of the controversialists on both sides do, with the descrip- of Josephus, who was the first definitely to place the City of David' on the South-west Hill, and work back Waugh the Maccabean and the Biblical data to the

earliest times. It seems to me that the more lucid and convincing method is to leave at first the evidence of Josephus alone, for, valuable as this is for his own day, he was not a trustworthy guide among the ancient conditions; and to start with the topographical and military arguments for the two sites, then to follow the Biblical evidence and that from the Books of the Maccabees, and by these earlier witnesses to test the statements of Josephus and the claims of ecclesiastical tradition.

I. THE ARGUMENTS FROM TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAOLOGY.

We can have little doubt about two things : *first,* that the earliest settlers in this district would select the sides of the only valleys in which water was present in any quantity ; that is, as we have seen, the Kidron, and, more doubtfully, the sheltered mouth of the valley running into it, the Tyropceon ; and, *second,* that when it became necessary to fortify themselves, they would do so on one or other of the two promontories, which, except at their north ends, sink steeply, if not precipitously, into the gorges below them. Our choice clearly lies between the South-west and the East Hills. Although from a very early time dwellings may have been excavated on the eastern bank of the Kidron valley, the site of the present village of Silwan, where there are still cave-dwellings, the place is not suitable for fortification, and the dip of the strata makes it improbable that springs ever broke in the valley immediately below."[1]

Earliest Settlement on either the E. or the S.W. Hill.

[1] It is to be wished that excavations were made along this bank of the Kidron valley. Cf. C1.-Ganneau, *Arch. Res. i.* 305.

Those who support the claims of the South-west Hill as the site of Sion, placing this either on the northern edge of the Hill where the present citadel stands, or on the southern end,' rest their case, apart from tradition, on these grounds : the height of the hill above its flanking valleys, W. er-Rababi and el-Wad, and the steepness of the slopes by which it rises from- the latter ; its dominance of the other hills of. Jerusalem, and its fitness for fortification. But it is doubtful whether so broad and long a hill, without any outstanding eminence, would have been suitable for such a citadel as that of the Jebusites.[2] Sir Charles Wilson says : ' The western spur is broad-backed, and so far as the original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would be naturally selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town.'[3] Again, the South-west Hill is waterless and lies aloof from the ancient source or sources of water in the Kidron valley. Unless the earthquakes have closed or masked some former vent, there was no spring in el-Wad or the Wrady er-Rababi ; and indeed the geology, as we have seen, renders very improbable the existence there, at any time, of a fountain. It is true that some towns in Palestine are planted at as great a distance from their springs as the South-west Hill is from the Kidron valley ; but in no instance (I think) does this happen where a more, or equally, suitable site for the town lies nearer the spring, as is the case in Jerusalem. The tradition that Sion lay

The Claims of the South-west Hill.

[1] So Georg Gatt and Karl Mommert : for their works see below, p. 165.

lily prim *int,sudath .5ion, stronghold* or *hikfort of Sion.*

Art. 'Zion' in Hastings' *D. B.* iv. 983.

on the site of the present citadel is associated with, and dependent on, the other, that the spring Gihon lay in the head of the Wady er-Rababi ; but we have seen that Gihon is undoubtedly the same as the Virgin's Spring in the Kidron valley. Finally, no remains have been discovered on the South-west Hill which can be assigned with certainty to the pre-Israelite period. The rock cisterns are few compared with those in other parts of Jerusalem ; the walls and aqueducts that have been traced may be referred to a later age ; and this is also true of the rock cutting known as Maudslay's Scarp, above the western slope. It is true that the Hill has not yet been thoroughly excavated ; and the Great Tower with the rock-chambers beneath it, discovered by Dr. Bliss, forms a perplexing problem? But so far as the archaeological evidence at present goes it supports the other view. Consistent with this is the comparative absence of *debris* in the W. er-Rababi which we noted before, and which seems to indicate that the South-west Hill had not so remote a history as the East Hi11.[2] Summing up, we may *say* that while there is no positive evidence for an early settlement on the South-west Hill, it is also improbable that the Jebusite citadel was built there.

The East Hill is not so high as the South-west, which dominates it. But, as we have seen,[3] it is high and aloof enough to have been, in the conditions of ancient warfare, quite independent of the latter, and capable of being held by itself. That the position immediately above Gihon is suitable for a fort has

Argument for the East Hill.

[1] See above, p. 126.

[2] See above, p. 42. Of course there remains the possibility that the greater *debris* in the Kidron and Tyropceon was partly due to earthquakes.

[3] See above, p. 37 f.

been affirmed by several eminent military engineers? But even the eyes of those who are not soldiers nor engineers may perceive the possibility of the Canaanite fort on that position. Down either side the ground falls abruptly to the Tyropceon and the Kidron. The position is nearly 200 feet above the bed of the Kidron, and the descent very steep, about 30^0;[2] while it is '00 feet above the bed of el-Wad. Southwards there is a steep slope to the point between the junction of the two valleys. The sole difficulty is to the north. Immediately above the Virgin's Spring, (2087 feet, or 636 m. above sea level), there is a contour line on the Survey Map of Ophel of 2279 (695 m.), from which the rock gradually ascends to 2299 (701 ni.), 23t2 (704'5), and finally, at the foot of the Haram Wall „ 2370 (722). Such an ascent is certainly not very suitable for carrying the northern wall of the fort. Dr. Guthe indeed claims to have discovered a trench or gully running across the hill immediately north of the Virgin's Spring.[1] *But* his data were drawn from only two shafts, and others familiar with the ground deny that any such trench exists? Vet even with the surface as it stands at present Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren and other authorities in engin-

[1] Including Generals Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren.

[2] Warren, *P.E.F. Nem.,* Jerus.' 368: and the natural surface of the rock, must be remembered, is covered with *debris* from to to so feet in depth.

[3] *Z.D.P. V. v.* 166, 316. Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 668 f. : By two shafts it was then Mt] clearly determined that the original rock-bottom immediately north of the Virgin's Spring, opposite the upper part of the village Siloah, lies from 12 to 13 metres deeper than the adjoining height on the south, and 15 to in. deeper than the neighbouring height on the north' ; cf, *Id.* 675 lines 45 f.

[4] Wilson and Warren. Kuemmel also has recently (*Malerialien p.. di: all. ferns., 1906,* 82) expressed doubts of the existence of this

eering, or the topography of the hill-forts of Palestine, believe that the Jebusite stronghold stood above Gihon. In Gihon, too, we have the only certain spring of the district. It is true that if their fort was built on the East Hill, the Jebusites could not include the Spring within its walls, nor be able to prevent its use by an enemy besieging them. Gihon lies at the foot of a steep rock on which a wall could not run, except high above the Spring. But at least, even with primitive means of warfare, the besieged could seriously harass an enemy in his use of Gihon ; and we have the evidence of Warren's shaft to prove that, at a date certainly earlier than the construction of the Tunnel by Hezekiah, the garrison of the town on Ophel above the Spring made a passage to the latter through the rock, such as would secure to themselves the use of its waters during a time of siege. Moreover, the needs of times of peace must be taken into consideration. It is most probable that the earliest settlement was as near to the Kidron Spring or Springs as possible, that is upon Ophel ; and that therefore, when a fort became necessary, it was built on the same hill, somewhere above Gihon, rather than on a hill farther away.

We have now to ask whether any of the ancient remains, discovered on the ridge of Ophel, indicate the Jebusite period. Both the English surveyors and Dr. Guthe discovered lines of wall in various forms of masonry, rock-dwellings, cisterns, reservoirs, steps and scarped rocks. Of the seven kinds of masonry which Dr. Guthe distinguishes on the encompassing walls, he is inclined to ascribe the second class of ' ashlar with regular margins and bosses' to a period when the Israelites worked under Phoenician example, that is

Aram-logical Evidence.

from Solomon's time onward ;[1] but his first class of ' regular blocks, but rough-hewn and without mortar,' which is met with everywhere on the east coasts of the Mediterranean, he assigns to an earlier period.[2] We have seen that Warren's shaft must be earlier than the eighth century, and that there is no objection to ascribing it to the Jebusites. Near this, just above Gihon, Dr. Guthe unearthed what is apparently the oldest relic, a bit of wall or tower with a thick layer of black cement, seemingly ancient, but whether Jebusite or not he wisely abstains from affirming.[3] Round cisterns he found only among those hewn in the rock:[4] such a shape of cistern is assigned by some to the Canaanites, but this also is uncertain. Of more significance are 'rock chambers, with doors and openings for light,' and the dwellings half cut in the rock And half built against it. Some of these, Dr. Guthe thinks,[5] go back to the earliest period. There can have been little building in stone before Solomon's time, or he ould not have had to bring masons from Phoenicia, and no ;traces have been found of building in timbers But oven from the rock-dwellings it is precarious to infer a ry early date; for the habit of living in houses half Own in the rock and half built against it, continued in Gr k times, as is proved from the mosaic under some pf these hybrid constructions, and persists still in the Village of Silwan. On the whole, then, while nothing his 'been found on Ophel which is indubitably Jebu- ite, many of the remains are possibly so, and certainly ar lief than the eighth century ; and there is not a little

[1] ...f,E.D,..P.V. v. 284, 287-289.
[2] lb. 286 f.
[3] Set point Eon Tafel viii. Z. D. P. V. v.; cf. 319 f.
[4] id, 336.
[5] Id. 341.
[6] Id. 344 f.

which suggests the primitive practice of dwelling in caves.

The probability of the position of the original fortress of Jerusalem, on the East Hill, having been shown from the topographical and archaeological evidence, there remains, before we leave this department of our argument, the subsidiary question whether Ophel presents a large enough surface for the Jebusite town. It is a frequent contention on the part of those who support the claims of the South-west Hill that the ridge of Ophel is too small to have held the ancient City, that the size of the South-west Hill is more suitable for this, and that accordingly we ought to seek for the Jebusite stronghold on its more dominant height? The force of this contention depends on what one conceives the size of Jerusalem under the Jebusites to have been. If one has large views of this, the contention will prevail. But the probability is that before David's time Jerusalem was but an ordinary hill-town. Now we happen, just recently, to have been furnished with some data as to the size of another important Canaanite city which, like Jerusalem, defied the attempts of Israel to take it before the period of the monarchy. In his report, in January 1905,[2] on his excavations at Gezer, Mr. R. A. S. Macalister gives some estimates of the length and date of the outmost of the city walls which he has laid bare : I estimate its total length,' he says, at about 4,500 feet, which is rather more than one-third of the length of the modern wall of Jerusalem.' `After a careful study of the masonry of all the exposed parts' of the walls, and

Ophel sufficien for jebusite town.

1 So Colonel Conder, art. Jerus.,' Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 591.
2 *P.E.F. Q.* of that date.

of4 the associated antiquities,' he assigns the houses built over the ruined *inner* wall to the middle of the second millennium, every dateable object being contemporary with Amenhotep But as it is inconceivable that a city of the importance of Gezer should have existed at any period without a wall, the ruin of the inner wall must have been synchronous with the erection of the outer wall, which superseded it.' Though repaired from time to time, this outer wall is fundamentally of the respectable antiquity of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence,'[1] and lasted from about Isoo to 100 B.C.' If, then, Mr. Macalister's observations and reasoning be correct, we know the size of a royal Canaanite city, contemporary with the Jebusite Jerusalem, and, like the latter, holding itself from the Israelites till about moo B.C. Its walls measured approximately 4500 feet round (about 1372 metres). Now if we take Dr. Guthe's or Dr. Bliss's plans of Ophel, and measure from the scarp, at the lowest point of the East Bill, northwards along the line of discovered and inferred wall on the eastern edge of the ridge, to the 2329 feet contour (710 metres), where the level rises rapidly towards the Haram wall, and thence 52o feet (about 159 metres) to the same level on the Tyropceon side of the ridge, and thence southward along the line of ascertained rocks and warps, on the west of Ophel, to our starting-point, we get a circumference of approximately 425o feet (about 29$,metres). This means a space for the Jebusite town, it was confined to Ophel, not much less than the anaanite Gezer, which, so far as we can discern from the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence, was at the time at *lost* of equal political importance with Jerusalem, and

1 *Circa* 1400 B.C.

from its more favourable position, both for agriculture and for trade and other communications with Egypt and Phcenicia, may well have held a larger and wealthier community.

2. THE BIBLICAL EVIDENCE AS TO SION.

To the topographical and archaeological evidence stated above we may now add that of the Biblical history from the time of David onwards. It starts from the verse which records his capture of the Jebusite stronghold, and runs along the history of the two names which the verse assigns to the stronghold : *David took the stronghold of Sion* or *Slydn, the same is the City of David* or *David's-Burgh* ;[1] and it includes the use of the name *The `Ophd* as practically a doublet for Sion.

In the verse quoted the name is given (as throughout the Old Testament) without the definite article ; that is, as already a proper name. This has not prevented the attempt to derive it from a Semitic root expressive of the character of the site to which it was originally attached. In early Christian literature it has been variously translated watch-tower," peak," dry place,' impassable,' and fixed' or ordained:[2] The meaning dry' has been revived by Gesenius and Lagarde ;[3] and that of ordained ' or 'set

Meaning of the name Sion.

[1] 2 Sam. v. 7.

[2] So Jerome *(Liber lnterpr. Hebr. Nom.,* see Lagarde *Onom. Sacr.* pp, 70-73, etc.): ' Sion, specula vel speculator sive scopulus,' vel mandatum vel inuium.' *Onontastica Vatican,* see Lagarde, *id.* p. 204: Low *CrICOTEUT*101/ ;* p. 211 Z. p. 222: if IPTOM 0°/C071°LaS.

[3] Ges. *Thes.* 1164 ; Lag. *Bildung Hebr. Nomin.* 84, as if till were a contraction of tj'Irly from rimy ; cf. Graetz's emendation of lity in Jer. xxx. 17 to

pup' by Delitzsch.[1] Another derivation is from the root which appears in the Arabic San, 'to guard' ;[2] another compares the Mishnic Hebrew Siyytm, the act of making anything conspicuous by marking it.'[3] I think that a much more probable derivation may be reached through the Arabic equivalent for Sion : Sahyun or Sihyun.[4] In Boha-ed-Din's *Life of Saladin*[3] a castle near Laodicea in northern Syria is described, under the name sehyun, as 3 well-fortified on the edge of a hill.' Now the Arabic Lexicons give sahweh as the highest part' or ridge of a mountain or hump or shoulder,' or even as a citadel or bastion.' That there was a second castle of the same name, also on a narrow riclge,[6] encourages the belief that in this Arabic form we may find the correct etymology of Sion or Siyon ; the termination -on being that which o curs in so many place-names. Sion would then _mean protuberance,' or summit of a ridge,' and so fort' or citadel.' In itself such a meaning is most

:When Israel, in possession of the Jebusite citadel,

Admen, 3rd ed. 17o, as if from
Wor.titein, see Delitzsch, *Genesis,* 4th ed. p. 578.

From this no doubt came the meaning ' tomb' (cf. Cruden's *Concordance),* for *ti mho* were marked white.

Th present name for the Mount Sion of Christian tradition, the S.W. hill. •Bah Sihyttn is, in Mukaddasi, the present Bab en-Nabi Daud, and Xenisah Skim the name in Mas`ficli for the Christian Church on the traditional Mount Sion ; sec Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems, 203,* 212-217. *la the P. E.F.Q.,* 1877, p. 21, Col. Conder points out that the name still exists in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Wady Sahyun, about LI miles S.' from the Jaffa Gate, and quotes Isaac Chelo as describing Sion not *at bat sear* Jerusalem.

43, opening sentence, ed. Schultens, p. 82.

ut, *Geogr. Lex.,* tells us that the Syrian castle was sometimes confused with the Jerusalem Sion.

changed its ancient name to that of their own king, its conqueror, they may have expected that the former, a foreign and obscure designation, would disappear behind a title so illustrious and, as it proved, so enduring as the City of David.' Instead of this, the name Sion, as if emancipated from the rock to which it had been confined, began to extend to the neighbourhood, and, advancing with the growth of Jerusalem, became more identified with her final extent and fame than that of David himself. The name of David appears to have remained on the limited area on which his people had placed it : Sion not only spread over the Temple Mount, the whole city and her population, but even followed the latter during their exile to Babylon. It is a remarkable story which we are now to trace. An epithet, originally so limited in application and apparently so concrete in meaning, gradually becomes synonymous with Jerusalem as a whole, is adopted as one of Israel's fondest names for the shrine of their religion, and is finally idealised as an expression of the most sacred aspects of their character as the people of God. Yet even across so wide a career there lie scattered proofs that the spot from which the name started was a narrow summit of the East Hill above Gihon.

History of the Name.

In the history of Solomon's reign Sion, still equivalent to the City of David,' is described as distinct from the site of the Temple and as lying below it. According to i Kings viii. i ff. Solomon gathered the heads of the people to *bring up the Ark out of the City of David which is „Sion* to the Temple. The other verb used in verse 6 of the conveyance of the Ark, after it had reached the Temple level, to the Holy Place,

Under Solomon.

vie, *brought in,* proves that the verb *brought up* in verses rand 4 is to be taken in its obvious sense and not (as some argue, who place the original Sion on the South-western Hill) as if it merely meant *started out with* or *brought on its way.* To the writer of this passage Sion evidently lay *below* Solomon's Temple : that is, on the site on which .topographical reasons have led us to place it, on the eastern ridge above Gihon.[2]

The next appearances of the name are in the writings cf the Eighth-Century Prophets, some two hundred and *fifty* years after David. Amos says : *Yahweh roars from Sion and utters his voice from Jerusalem,* and speaks of *those who are at ease i ,Sion and secure in the mount of Sanzaria.*[3] The former passage certainly includes in Sion the Temple as the r dence and oracle of the God of Israel. Isaiah records a word of Yahweh : *I lay in Sion a foundation stone;* that is, the intimate spiritual relation between Himself and His people, on which He calls their faith to rest.[4] Micah mentions Sion as equivalent to the whole town of Jerusalem, and adds, as if it were distinct from this, *the ,of the House* or Temple.[5] 13oth Micah and „(probably) Isaiah speak of the City and her population as

In the 8th-Century Prophets.

For example, Riickert, *Die Legge des Berges Sion,* p. 32.

„*To the above passages may be added z Sam. xxiv. 18 ff., i Chron. xxi. ;'1K according to which David *went up* from his residence in the city of Pletiti,to the threshing-floor of Araunah, subsequently the site of the

:01[46]

1114036 L. **2, vi. I.** The genuineness of both passages has been contested, lac insufficient grounds.

lab xxviii. t6: accepted as genuine by all critics. Other oracles ag Sion might be added to this one, for there is not much reason to t they are Isaiah's own. But as they are not accepted as such by I refrain from using them here.

[5] Micah iii. to, 12.

the *Daughter of Sion.*[1] Another form, *Mount Sion,* occurs in a number of oracles attributed to Isaiah, but assigned by many scholars to exilic or post-exilic times. I do not feel, however, that the reasons which the latter give against the authenticity of some of these passages are conclusive. Ch. viii. 18 appears to be genuine, in spite of Volz'S and Cheyne's arguments to the contrary, and if so, affords evidence that the Temple Hill was called Mount Sion in Isaiah's time.[2]

Thus it appears that the name Sion, which till Solomon's time at least had been confined to the Jebusite fort, had spread during the next two hundred and fifty years across the whole of Jerusalem. The reasons for this extension are obvious, even if we cannot define the successive stages of the process. Either the name followed the expansion of the population, and (as Micah iii. 12 seems to show) only subsequently to this included the site of the Temple ; or more probably it first accompanied the Ark to the latter (as we might infer from Amos i. 2) and thence spread over the rest of the City. But we must not forget the possibility of a third alternative : that the name Sion had covered the whole of the East Hill from the earliest times. In any case it would be more natural for it to spread first across this, and only then over the rest of Jerusalem.

How the name spread.

In the Seventh Century Jeremiah uses *Sion* as

1 Micah i. 13 ; Isaiah i. 8. See below, p. 269.

2 In Isaiah xxix. 8 and xxxi. 4, which are also probably genuine, *Mount Sion* may be even interpreted as covering the whole of the City. Other occurrences of the name in prophecies which till quite recently were generally regarded as Isaiah's own, are iv. 5, x. 12, xviii. 7. In x. 32 and xvi. i is found *Mount of the Daughter of Sion.*

equivalent to Jerusalem, City and Temple ;[1] and the *Daughter of Sion* as the personified City and her population.[2] He does not give the name *Mount Sion.* Coming to writers of the Exile, we find that Ezekiel nowhere mentions Jerusalem or the Temple Mount by the name of Sion ; a remarkable omission, as if this rigid theologian had purposely excluded from the holy precincts a title of Gentile origin. But in Lamentations, on the contrary, *Sion and the Daughter of Sion* are frequent designations not only of the City, ruined and desolate, and, as personified, *spreading forth her hands,*[8] but also of the community carried away captive.[4] Once there is mention of *Mount Sion,* the deserted site trodden by foxes.[5] As in Jeremiah so in the great prophet of the Exile, Isaiah xl.-lv., *Mount Sion* does not appear : but *Sion* is used both of the City,[6] as parallel to Jerusalem,[7] and of her exiled people,[8] who are also addressed as *the daughter of Sion* .[9]

In Jeremiah and Exilic writers.

All these instances of the name in its various forms increase throughout the later literature (except in certain books presently to be noted). *Sion* is become the full equivalent of Jerusalem,[10] and the writers. is as closely attached to the Lord as to His people. Sion is Sion of the Holy One of Israel," His Holy Mount," [11] the dwelling place ;[13] the mother of the nation,[14] the nation itself ;[15] the pure and holy nucleus of the nation[16] To

In Post-Exilic

iv. 6, viii. 19, xiv. 19, xxvi. 18 ; and probably also xxxi. 6. 4 iv. 22.
iv. 31, 2, 23. 3 Lam. i. 4, 17, ii. I, 6, v. 1., etc.
6 *e.g.* li. I I., lii. 7 f. xl. 9, xli. 27,
8 ii. 16; cf. Zech. ii. 7. 9 Ili. 2.
Zet h. i. 7,17, viii. 3. Zephaniah iii. 16 (a late passage).
tt 141. xx. 1 12 Joel ii. 1, cf. 15. 13 Joel 111. 17.
lxvi. 8; Joel ii. 23. 19 Zeph. iii. 14, daughter of Sion =Israel.
ha. ha, 20.

Sion the Gentiles look, and from her goes forth the true religion?. The fuller name *Mount ,Sion* is sometimes employed as covering all Jerusalem ; and sometimes apparently in the narrower sense of the Temple Mount where Yahweh reigns.[3] Instances of such applications of the name in the Psalms are too numerous for citation. We meet them also in the Apocrypha, in which Mount Sion is the Temple Hill, but Sion the holy community, in contrast to Babylon.[4]

To this frequent reference to Sion in post-exilic literature, there is one remarkable line of exceptions. Just as Ezekiel does not use the name, so it is absent from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Except as the Jebusite designation of the citadel [5] which David took, the Chronicler does not mention Sion. To him the mountain of the Temple is Mount Moriah.[3] Even in passages describing the gathering of the people to sacrifice or to the cleansing or repair of the Temple, in which we might have expected the use of the name Mount Sion,[7] it is constantly avoided ; and the worshippers are described as *coming to Jerusalem* or *going up to the house of the LoRD.*[8] In Ezra the formula frequently used is *the house of God* or *of Yahweh which is in Jerusalem;* [9] and Nehemiah speaks *of Jerusalem* and the *courts of God's house.*[10] That the Chronicler, who knew of Sion as the name of the Jebusite fort, and who introduces the City of

Writers who refrain fro the use ofm the name.

Isa. ii. 3 (if indeed this be a post exilic oracle, and not one, as is probable, from an earlier date), Micah iv. 2.

[2] 2 Kings xix. 31 ; Obad. 37, 21 ; Joel ii. 32(?).

[3] Isa. xxiv.. 23 ; cf. xxvii. z3, the holy mount ; Micah iv. 7.

[4] *e.g.* 2 Esdras ii. 40, 42 (Mt. Sion), iii. *2, 31,* X. 20, [2]3, 39, 44, sill. 35 (Mt. Sion), 36.

[5] I Chr. xi. 5; 2 Chr. v. 2.

[6] 2 Chr. iii. 1.

[7] *e.g.* 2 Chr. xx., xxiii. f., xxxiv. 3, 5, IV. 24, etc.

[8] e.g. XXiX. 20.

[10] xiii. 7.

David,' Ophel and Moriah ; that Ezra and Nehemiah, who also give so many of the topographical names of Jerusalem, neglected by accident to call the Temple Mount Sion, appears incredible. Doubtless, like Ezekiel, they had some religious reason for refusing the name to so holy a place. Were it not .for the frequent use of Sion in the Psalms, we would be tempted to say that Sion was exclusively a prophetic designation ; which the priestly school of writers avoided.

One other witness to the use of the name in the Old Testament period, is the author of First Maccabees (about 100 u.c.). In this Book Mount Sion is always Maccabean the Temple Mount' distinct both from the Period. City of David and from the rest of Jerusalem. So in other parts of the Apocrypha.[2]

Neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocrypha is there any passage which can be interpreted as applying the name Sion specially to the South-west Hill. The attempt to do so has indeed been made. Sion' never alied to the

Verses of the Psalms, which, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, place within the same Couplet „*Sion* and *Yahweh's Holy Hill,* have been interpreted as if they thereby designated *two different localities;* viz., the South-west Hill and the Temple Hill. But this would imply that within ancient Jerusalem there were actually two sites of equal sacredness, an impossible conclusion. The only natural inference from the parallelism just quoted is that Sion and the Temple Hill were Identical.

37, 6o, v. 54, vi. 48,•62, vii. 33, X. II, xiv. 27.

&AIMS viii. Si ; Ecclesiasticus xxiv. I() (Sion =holy tabernacle) and (ikppargirtiy) Judith, ix. 13.

3. HISTORY OF THE NAME THE `OPFIEL.

The Biblical history of the name The 'Ophel so curiously supplements that of Sion, for which, indeed, it appears in certain writers to be the equivalent, that we take it next, and before we deal with the name *City of David.* The meaning of the word is well-known. It signifies *lump* or *swelling,* and was applied in Hebrew to a mound, knoll or hill, in one case with a wall round it.' It is, therefore, exactly synonymous with Sion or Sahyfm, but unlike the latter, which is always used without the article as a proper name, the Old Testament writers always (except in two passages) talk of *The 'Ophel.* And everybody agrees that this was the name of part at least of the East Hill, south of the Temple, where, as we have seen, Sion stood.

The 'Ophel synonymous with Sion ; must

The `Ophel does not certainly occur in pre-exilic writings,' though there is no other reason against its early origin, save that after the Exile, when it comes into use, it has still the definite article : that is, it is still an epithet and not a proper name. The Book of Nehemiah — probably not that part which is Nehemiah's own memoirs, but the work of the Chronicler' —gives the name as already familiar, and places it south of the Temple. The only other occurrences of the name

and a later substitute for it.

[1] 2 Ki. v. 24; *the 'Ophel* on which Elisha lived; Moabite stone, line 22, *the wall of the 'Ophel* in Daibon or Kirhah(?).

[2] Of its two occurrences in prophecy, Isai. xxxii. 14, and Micah iv. 8, the former is not found in the LXX., and is probably a later insertion in the text, while the latter cannot be confidently assigned to Micah. In addition, it is to be noted that these are the only two passages in the O.T. in which the name is used in connection with Jerusalem, in the generic sense.

[3] Neh. iii. 26 f., xi. 21: see below, Bk. iii., the chapter on Ezra and Nehemiah.

in the Old Testament are in Chronicles,' where we are told that King Jotham *built much on the wall of the `Ophel,* and that King Manasseh *compassed about the `Ophel.* But we have seen that these are the very books whose author, or authors, avoid the name Sion except in the two cases in which it is used of the old Jebusite citadel. It cannot be by accident that it is in these books that The Ophel appears. The two names apply practically to the same site, and are almost exactly synonymous. Naturally, therefore, the following questions arise. Were *Sion* and *The 'Ophel* contemporary and alternative names for the part of the East Hill below the Temple ? Or when the name Sion was removed from this locality and applied to the Temple Mount as a whole, did the name The 'Ophel succeed it in its narrower designation ? If the foriner question be answered affirmatively, then we have an explanation of the appearance of The Ophel only in writings whiCh avoid the use of Sion ; if the latter, then we understand the confinement of the name The Ophel to the post-exilic literature. I am inclined to prefer the latter alternative.

The name reappears in Josephus as Ophlas, and The Ophlas, to the south of and adjoining the Temple. He titbems indeed in one passage to limit it to the northern part of the ridge running down from the Temple to Siloam.' But his accounts of the Ophlas,

Ophlas in Josephus.

I s Aron. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. [1]4.

Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 2 describes the city wall which runs north from as bending cast at Solomon's Pool,' the site of which is unknown Bove, p. 119), running on faxpt *x6pou rtvds Sp KaXotiotp '0(1,Xcts,* and og the east colonnade of the Temple. Cf. Schlatter, *Zur TOPOp PalaSi.* 211. The other passages in Josephus are v. P.J. vi. 1: cid the Temple and the parts adjoining for not a little way, r6v re

and the whole south end of the East Hill are too general for a definite inference to be drawn from them. The name does not occur in the Apocrypha or the New Testament.

Both the names Sion and 'Ophel mean protuberance,' swelling," mound,' or knoll,' and apply either to the whole of the East Hill south of the Temple, or to some part of it. In the latter case we must assume that anciently that ridge did not slope down from its summit on the Rock es-Sakhra to Siloam so regularly as it does now, but bore upon it, between these limits, a considerable outcrop of the rock, like that on which Antonia stood to the north of es-Sakhra. Such a `swelling' on the ridge would give originally a fifth summit to the East Hill,' and provide us with a sufficient site for the Jebusite fort of Sion, without any need of what we have seen to be the very doubtful trench across the East Hill to the north of the Virgin's Spring.[2] And for the disappearance of such a swelling,' the original Sion or 'Ophel, we shall see that we can account by the measures which the Hasmoneans are said to have taken for the removal of the rock on which the Syrian citadel stood that had threatened the Temple.

Sion or The 'Ophel originally a Knoll on E. Hill above Gihon.

4. HISTORY OF THE NAME DAVID'S-BURGH OR `CITY OF DAVID.'

• While the ancient Canaanite name *Sion* left the citadel

'ooxap Kat *Tliv KeopCma Kallovp.ivny Oapa-y-ya ;* and vi. *B.J.* vi. 3: the Romans set fire to the dpxeiov, Ka/ **TO diCpaY** *Kai* 76 *potaeurOtov* **Kal** *Tap* 'ooxav Kaxou‡ay.p.

[1] See above, p. 33 f.

[2] See above, p. 139.

on the knoll above Gihon and spread first across the Temple Mount and then over Jerusalem as a corroborawhole, the Israelite title of *David's-Burgh* or *City of David* appears to have remained, confined to that fort, its complex of buildings, and probably the town which clustered about it. We are, therefore, able to discover, in the use of this title in Old Testament times, corroboration of the preceding evidence that the citadel lay south of the Temple on the East Hill.

P~eceding evidence.

David brought the Ark into the *City of David* and was buried there' Solomon lodged there the daughter of Pharaoh, till he should have built *his palace and temple and the wall of Jerusalem round aid about.*[2] When the Temple was finished he Writings-*brought up* to it (as we have seen) the Ark from the City of David,[3] and was buried in the City of David,[4] as were also in the next centuries many of the kings of Judah.[6] Except in an oracle of Isaiah [6] (which, however, does not define its position, save in holding it distinct from Jerusalem as a whole),? the City of David is not mentioned in the prophets of the eighth century. We find it, however, in the Chronicler's account of that period, as distinct from the City at large,[8] but also as lying upon the East Hill above Gihon. For he tells us, as we have seen, that

The City of in

[1] 2 Sam. vi. 12; i Kings ii. so.

t Kings iii. 1; xi. 27 also implies that David's-Burgh was a particular part of Jerusalem.

[3] $ t Kings viii. 1.

[4] xi. 43.

[a] I Kings xiv. 3r, etc. Thenius *(Blither der Kiinige,* ed. 2, p. 15) quotes Theodoret (4th cent.) as placing these graves near Siloam.

[41] xxii. 9.

[7] **v. 10.**

Chron. xxviii. 27, which states that Ahaz was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the sepulchres of the kings, which, we have just seen, lay in the City of David.

Hezekiah, in stopping the fountains outside the City so as to deprive the besiegers of water,[1] closed *the vent or issue* of the waters of the upper Gihon, and *brought them straight down or ,underneath, to the west of the City of David.*[2] This can refer only to the tunnel hewn under the East Hill from Gihon to the Pool of Siloam, and it places the City of David above the tunnel and between its two ends. The Chronicler, adds that Manasseh built a wall on the west side of Gihon in the valley of the Kidron ; that is, on the most natural site for such a wall, immediately above the fountain, and *compassed about the Ophel.*[3] After the Exile Nehemiah also places the City of David here, for he mentions the *stairs which go down from it* in close connection with Siloam,[4] and describes a procession as entering by the gate at Siloam, the Fountain Gate, and thence ascending these stairs towards the Temple.[5] Sir Charles Wilson does not write too strongly when he says :[6] The statements of Nehemiah, which place the stairs of the City of David, the palace of David and his tomb between the Pool of Shelah (Siloam) and the Temple, absolutely exclude the western spur as a possible site for the City of David.'

In the First Book of Maccabees David's-Burgh or the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3; cf. 2 Kings xx. **20;** Eccius. xlviii. 17.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3o : or *westwards, to the City of David,* the English versions do not give the exact meaning. In the *P.E.F. Quart. Statement* for 1877, 178 f., Colonel Conder admits that according to this verse the City of David was on Ophel: but he regards the name as transferable.

[3] *Id. xxxiii.* [1]**4.**

Neh. iii. 15, 16. The latter verse adds the datum, *and unto the house of the Gibborim ;* but these were David's mercenaries, and their quarters were either in the David's-Burgh or close to it.

[5] xii. 37.

[6] Article ' Zion' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary.*

City of David" still stands distinct from the Temple Mount, and both of them from the rest of 'Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes, after sacking and burning Jerusalem, *fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an Akra* or *citadel.*[2] A Syrian garrison was put into it, who, *storing arms and victuals, and gathering the spoils of erusalem, laid them up there. And it became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary, and throughout an evil adversary to Israel.*[3] In X65, when Judas Maccabeus and his men went up to Mount Sion, they saw the Sanctuary lying desolate, and while they cleansed it they had to tell off certain of their number *to light against those in the Akra .*[4] Again, in 164., *as those out of the Akra were confining Israel to the holy places,'* Judas laid ,siege to the Akra, making mounds to shoot from and engines of war.° About 161 Bacchides strengthened and re-victualled the Akra, and imprisoned in it certain Jewish hostages,[7] who were restored out of the Akra to Jonathan in 153, when he took up his residence in Jerusalem and re-fortified the Sanctuary .[9] About 146. Jonathan besieged the Akra,[9] but could not take it, and besought King Demetrius to withdraw the garrison, for they were fighting against lsrael.[19] Demetrius promised

In First Maccabees.

[1] trAts Amid&

[2] *Eir* dtcpap.

[n] t Mace. i. 33.36 ; cf. ii. 31, where either the word IepoturaMp, is a gloss, **the words** ray, Aav€18 have been added as a more exact description of the **lion of the garrison.**

id. iv* 37-4[1].

•' 01Isrfjs dicpcts *low/ otryxXeiovres* (for the Heb. -00) Top iapai‌ıx KOKx4, *vwr &Vow.*

vi. 18 ff.; cf. 26: rnv *Itxpav* lepotracOdyl.

[1] **Id ix. 52 1.**

[8] ***Id.* X. 7-11.**

*** *Id. xi.* 20-23.**

" 1(1. xi. 41-53.

but broke his word. Jonathan tried to starve out the garrison by raising *a great mound between the Akra and the City so as to separate it from the City, that it might be by itself, alone, and men could neither buy nor sell.'* Some time after, the garrison, in want of victuals, sent an embassy to Tryphon to relieve them by way of the wilderness, but a snowstorm prevented him.[2] Continuing to starve, a number of them perished, and at last they surrendered to Simon [8] in 142 B.C. Simon occupied *the Temple-Hill that was by the citadel,*[4] and made it stronger than before. Although none of these passages define the exact site of the Akra, the most of them imply that it was a particular quarter of Jerusalem, distinct from both the Temple-Mount and the rest of the City, and that it lay close beside the former, a rival and a threatening fortress. But the first of the passages makes the Syrian Akra identical with the *City of David,* which, as we have seen, was still recognised in Nehemiah's time as lying immediately to the south of the Temple. The supposition is natural that in the time of the Maccabees the name remained where it lay from David's day to Nehemiah's. It is true that more than two and a half centuries separate Nehemiah from the year 168 B.C., and that the possibility must not be overlooked of the shifting of the name *City of David* from its Biblical position to some other spot, say, on the north of the Temple. But, with this possible reservation, we must hold that the Akra of the Maccabean period lay on the same spot as Nehemiah's City. of David, that is, on the East Hill to the south of the separate Temple-Mount, or just above Gihon.

[1] *Id. xii.* 36. [2] *Id. xiii. 21 f.* [3] *Id.* 49151.
4 Id. 52 : TO *Epos Tor, lepo0 rd irapa rip; &yap.*

We are, then, confronted with the problem of its disappearance, for no eminence rises there now which could be separately fortified as a citadel, and menace the Temple. But a statement of Josephus, which supplements and concludes the history of the Akra under the Maccabees, comes to our assistance. He has thrice stated that the Jews after taking the Akra, and in order to avoid any further danger from it to the Temple, reduced, or even abolished, the mound on which it stood. In one passage of the *Wars* he says : Simon Jigged down' or rased the Akra' ;[7]- but in another, that the Hasmoneans . . . having worked down the height of the Akra, made it lower than it was before, so that the Temple should dominate even it.'[2] In the *Antiquities* he goes into more detail; he says that Simon, anxious that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the Temple should be the higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole 'years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the Temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished." In these passages Josephus writes of what had disappeared two

The Syrian Josephus.

[1] Jos. 1, *PI* 11. 2: KOTeO'SOlPS Ti7Y *dxpay.*
[2] Jos. V. *B.* iv. 1: of 'Aga,o(ovaiot . . . rf{s dirpos *Karep-yacra,uevot rd Difros* Agar ecipaXarrepop, *Ws brepinxivorro* /cal raory To *1€pdp.*
Airridged from xiii. *Ant.* vi. 7: the words, thereafter the Temple overtappol all the' other buildings or places are consistent only with the view tbo City was then confined to the East Hill.

centuries before his own day. He implies that the Akra had dominated the Temple; but this it cannot have done if, as First Maccabees states, it was on the site of the City of David.' Also, his ascription of its demolition to Simon is not compatible with the statement of First Maccabees, that Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.[3] In his second passage he attributes the demolition to the Hasmoneans ; and the suggestion has been made that the work, whatever its extent may have been, was due to Hyrcanus I., who built another castle, the Basis at the north-west corner of the sanctuary.[3] The erection of the Basis led to the demolition of the Syrian Akra. In any case, this disappeared, and the thrice-repeated statement of Josephus that part, at least, of the rock on which it stood was also removed, cannot be a pure invention. His closing remark, that the reduction of the Akra to a level left the Temple higher than everything, is hardly consistent with his other descriptions of the City.

We find, then, that the Biblical data and the testimony of the Apocrypha agree with the conclusions at which we arrived from the topographical and archo-logical evidence. The Jebusite stronghold of Sion, afterwards called David's-Burgh, lay on the East Hill above Gihon, the present Virgin's Spring ;

Conclusions from foregoing.

On the Akra in Pseudo-Aristeas see below, Bk. iii. Sir Charles Watson *(P. E. F. Q.,* 1906, 5o ff.) places the Akra=-Sion within the Haram area, above 'the Great Sea,' partly because he thinks it lay N. of the City of David' ; but as we have seen above, Sion=' City of David.'

[2] I Mace. xiv. 37.

[3] Wellhausen, *Israelit. u. Jul. Gesch.* 227; Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 684; cf. Schiirer, *Gesch. 247 n.* 54.

and probably on a more or less isolated rock, a ' swelling ' or mound into which the ridge originally rose, but which was removed under the Hasmoneans. There is no trace in the Old Testament, let me repeat, of the application of the name Sion to the South-west Hill in distinction from the rest of Jerusalem, any more than there is a race of the name Ophel ever having been attached to that Hill. Nor is there any evidence of the South-west Hill ever having been regarded in Old Testament times as sacred.' We have also, by the way, found that there is no compulsion to seek a larger area for the primitive Jerusalem than the East Hill offers south of the Temple. But this subsidiary question will have to be re-opened when we come to the relevant point in the history.

5. TUE TRADITION, FROM JOSEPHUS ONWARDS, THAT THE ' CITY OF DAVID' LAY ON THE SOUTH-WEST HILL:

With Josephus, however, there started another tradition, which placed the ' City of David' on the South-west Hill. Adopted by the Christian Church, which, from the fourth century, called this Hill Mount Sion, the tradition was, till a few years ago, universally accepted, and is still held by some experts in the topography of Jerusalem. Like some of the Old Testament writers, Josephus nowhere uses the name Sion,

Josephus and the City of David. '

[1] It is not necessary to use Baron von Alten's argument *(Z.D.P. V.* ii. 29) in support of this. He quotes Ezekiel's description of the removal of the of Israel from the Temple Hill to the Mount of Olives (xl. 23, ff.), as if that proves that the South-west Hill had no special sacred-was before Ezekiel's time ; for he thinks that if it had been sacred Ezekiel have named it, instead of the Mount of Olives, as the Deity's resting-

either for a part of Jerusalem or in its wider Biblical meaning, but he places David's-Burgh on the South-west Hill. The City,' he says,[1] was built over two hills divided by a middle valley. Of the hills, that which held the Upper City was much the higher, and in length the more straight.[2] On account, therefore, of its strength it was called by King David the Fort,[8] but by us the Upper Agora.' This is also his view of the topography in his account of the capture of the City by David ;[4] for he says, that after David took the lower City,' in his view the East Hill, the citadel held out still,' that is on the South-west Hill, till Joab took it. He adds that ' when David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also re-built Jerusalem and named it the City of David.' The contradictions of this with the Biblical account are obvious. In the latter there is no mention of an upper and a lower City; nor did David call the whole of Jerusalem, but only the Jebusite stronghold, the 'City of David.' It is evident that Josephus has read into those ancient times the conditions of his own, when there were a lower and an upper City on the two hills, and when the citadel built by Herod so completely dominated Jerusalem from the latter, that it was natural to suppose that the ancient stronghold had occupied the same site.[8] The Biblical tradition had lasted till the time of First Maccabees, zoo B.C. But between that date and the time of Josephus, over 15o years, there had happened the siege and capture of the City by Pompey,

I Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. I. He adds the epithet thinvp6cro7ros. See above, p. 32 ff.

[2] Or level' (?) ; he means by this both the N.W. and S.W. Hills together.

[3] *I'po6ptov.* It is significant that he does not call it Akra, conscious as he was of a citadel elsewhere.

[4] **Jos.** *vii. Ant.* iii. r f.

[3] *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2420, § by the present writer. Cf. von Alten, *Z.D.P.V.* 20 f.

the siege, capture and great devastation by Sosius, and the very extensive rebuilding by Herod, which included the erection of Antonia, of the Temple, and of the great towers and fort on the west of the City. And before all these there had been the extensive building by Hyrcanus I. We have, therefore, more than sufficient to account for this transference by Josephus of the centre of power in Jerusalem from the East to the West Hill.

But if there was excuse for Josephus' contradiction of the Biblical statements about David's-Burgh,' there was even more for the Christians, who followed him in his error, and heaping change on change, as has been too often the case with geographical tradition in Palestine, removed the name Mount Sion from the Temple-Mount to the South-west Hill. Titus destroyed at least half the city?. According to Josephus, the whole was ruined except Herod's three *towers* and part of the west wall ;[2] and other writers testify to a thorough devastation .[8] For sixty years the Temple area, Ophel, and other parts lay under *debris,* while the Tenth Legion held part of the Upper City as a fortified camp. Then came Hadrian's suppression of the revolt of 132. He destroyed most of what Titus had left, reducing Jerusalem to a waste; forbidding it to its Jewish inhabitants, and colonising it with a different race.[8] The Temple-Mount was desecrated by the erection of a fane to Jupiter Capitolinus. The Legionary Camp remained to emphasise the supremacy of the South-

The Growth n. Christian tradition.

[1] Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evans-.* vi. 18.

* Jos. vi. B.J. ix, 1, 4; vii. *B.7. i.* **I.** Appian, .Sr.50.

[4] Just. Mart., *.Afteh* 47. Ens., *Eeel. Rut.* iv. 6; *Theophania,* iv. zo; *Chroin* (in Migne, *Cf. XiX.* 557 f.).

west Hill, and on the same hill the Church cherished the site of the institution of the Lord's Supper and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost.[1] In a land in which names have continually drifted from their original sites, all these events, aided by the example of Josephus, render explicable the transference of the name Mount Sion to the South-west Hill. The transference did not happen immediately. Origen takes the Temple Hill and Sion as identical,[2] and so, apparently, even Jerome in one passage.s But the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) and, in the *Onomasticon,* both Eusebius (c. 35o) and Jerome (c.400) place Sion on the Western Hill ; and from them onwards this became the accepted opinion among Christians. As Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out,[4] its acceptance was probably facilitated by the building of the Church of the Resurrection on the West Hill. But the statements of Josephus, the lapse of time, the destructions and changed conditions, the ignorance of pilgrims new to the city, careless talk and fallacious reasoning, all contributed. Such a tradition slowly accumulates and is fed from a hundred trickling sources. We need not impute deliberate fraud. `There was no falsification of tradition, but an adaptation of an ancient term to a new situation.'[5]

For Christians, and afterwards for Mohammedans, the South-west Hill continued to be Mount Sion, and the citadel on it David's Tower down to the middle supporters of the nineteenth century. These identifications were accepted by the first scientific geographers : Robinson, Ritter, Tobler, De Vogue, and

Modern supporters of the tradition.

1 Cf. Wilson, *Golgotha,* etc., 146 ff.
2 Ad Joannem, iv. 19 f.
3 *Ad Esai. xxii. i f.*
4 Smith's *D.B.* 2, `Jerusalem,' 1651.
5 Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.,* 1892, 17-38, Topogr. de Jerus.,' near the end.

others. They were also at first taken for granted by the excavators of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and by the late Dr. Schick. With various modifications, they are still defended by Colonel Conder,[1] Consul Merrill, Dr. Archibald Henderson, Dr. Stewart ; and, more recently, with fresh argument against the defenders of the East Hill theory, by Herr Georg Gatt, Dr. Riickert,[2] and in greatest detail by Dr. Carl Mommert.[3]

6. THE RETURN TO THE EAST HILL.

In 1856, Robinson, after his second journey to Palestine, and a fresh study of the topography of Jerusalem, wrote that amid the many diversities of opinion Earliest of which have late been advanced, it is the gratifying to find a few points yet unassailed, Tradition. and which in general are still admitted by most writers.' The first of these, he says, is, that Sion was the south-western hill' of the city.'[4] But the previous year there had appeared a volume by the Rev. J. F. Thrupp,[5] in which the author questioned Robinson's topography, and maintained that the earlier or true Sion, equivalent to the City or David,' was the Temple Hill, that the old Jebusite fortress stood on the northern part of the Hill, and the Temple in the south part of the Haram area. In

1 One *D. B.,* Jerusalem.'
2 Part, *Die Hugel von Jerusalem,* Freiburg i. B., 1897, 1 ff ; *Sion in Jerusalem,* 2900, 34, 38 *Z.D.P.V. xxv.* ; Ruckert, *Die Lage des Berges Sion,* Freiburg i. B., 1898 ; *Jerusalems, Erster Theil ; Sion u. Akra die Hugel Bezetstaa't,* n.d. (pref. dated Dec. 1900), with plan ; *Z.D.P. V. xxiv.* 183 ff.
3 *I. B.* A'., 1856, 206.
4 *Aim, Jerusalem, by J.* F. Thrupp, M.A., vicar of Barrington (late Fellow of Trin. Coll., Camb.). Cambridge, Macmillan, 1855. Cf. Ruhricht, *Zeitschr. avg. Pal., 447.*

1861 Mr. Thomas Lewin published his *Jerusalem,* in which the claims of the East Hill were also advocated ; and in 1864, the • Rev. George Sandie,' after an independent examination of the sites and with fresh argument, showed that Sion was a separate part of the City, and lay on the East Hill, emphasised the presence of a ravine across the Hill to the north of the Temple area, and assigned the castle Sion or `the City of David' to the site of Antonia. The same year Dr. Ch. Ed. Caspari identified Sion with Moriah, and placed the. Syrian Akra on the Temple Hill ;[2] and in 1871, Dr. Furrer presented a summary of the argument for the East Hill.[8]

Trend of recent opinion.

The earliest assailants of the traditional theory had to support their argument for the East Hill without the. aid of the recent excavations, which have supplied so many new data in support of their main contention, and in correction of some of their subsidiary views. The most of them had placed Sion to the north of the Temple Area, but after the discoveries on Ophel by the English engineers and Dr. Guthe, and after a more thorough examination of the .Biblical evidence, the case we have presented for

1 *Horeb and Jerusalem,* by the Rev. George Sandie. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1864. This little-known volume is well written, and is still interesting and instructive, anticipating many points that have been elaborated in the subsequent discussion, venturing also on conclusions that have received little or no support, such as that Gihon lay in the central valley el-Wad, and that the site of the Crucifixion was the north-west corner of the Temple Hill. He follows Fergusson as to the site of our Lord's grave. Fergusson's first work, *Essay on the Anc. Topogr. offer.,* appeared in 1847.

2 *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.,* 1864, 309.328: 'Zion u. die Akra der Syrer :' cf. *Chronolog. Geogr. Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi,* 5869.

Schenkel ; 1871: *art.* Jerus.' ; cf. *Meal. Liter. Zeitung,* 1907, 258.

the position of Sion to the south of the Temple has become increasingly strong. Credit must first be given for the use of the new materials to the Rev. W. F. Birch, who in 1878 began a numerous series of articles,' in which he argued independently on the Biblical and archwological data for the location of the City of David' on Ophel ; to Baron von Alten, who in 1879[2] gave at length reasons, good or less good, for identifying Sion with the East Hill ; and to Dr. Klaiber's two lucid articles in 1880-81.[3] They were followed in 1881 by Professors Stade and Robertson Smith," and in 1883 by Professor Sayce.[5] Since then the opinion has come to prevail with the great majority both of the excavators of Jerusalem and of Old and New Testament scholars. It has been adopted by Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren,[6] who had previously taken the other view, although the latter from the first felt its incompatibility with the data of Nehemiah? Professor Guthe adhered to it as early as 1882,[8] maintaining, as we have seen, the existence of a gully between the site of the fortress Sion and the Temple area, which, however, s not certain, and requires further investigation. In .addition may .be mentioned the names of the following authotities on the Old Testament or the topography of th City : Socin, Benzinger, Ryle, Driver, Buhl, Ryssel, II. G. Mitchell, and practically also A. B. Davidson .g

2 *Z .D. P. V.* ii. 58 ff. In the Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly Statement. iii. 189 ff., iv. 18 ff.

arch. des Volker Israel, i. 267 f. ; *Eneycl. Brit.' xiii. :* art. Jerusalem.'

Vilt:ot, *City and Land,* 1892, 19 f., and other works ; Warren in Ha tinge' *A.B. ii.* 386 f. 7 *Recovery of _rents.* 289.

ZARK v. 7-204, 271-378: cf. *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem,* Leipzig,

I SOCht and Benzinger in Baedeker's *Pahistizza,* the latter also in *Behr. 14radol.,* 1894; Ryle on Neh. iii. 15, in *Camb. Bible for Schooli, 18931*

The most notable of recent adherents to the support of the East Hill is the Dominican scholar, Pere Joseph Lagrange, in an able and lucid article, of date 1892.[1] Till the appearance of this, Roman Catholic opinion had almost unanimously[2] adhered to the ecclesiastical tradition in favour of the South-west Hill. There is no one more familiar with the site of Jerusalem than Pere Lagrange ; his estimate of the Biblical evidence and that of Josephus is temperate and judicious ; and his explanation of the transference of the name a natural one. That such a scholar should have been compelled, by a careful review of the evidence, to abandon the church tradition is as significant as that explorers like Sir Charles Warren, who also for so long accepted it, have made the same change.

In forming a judgment on the question at issue, the reader will keep in mind that excavations have before now overturned conclusions as widely accepted as is to-day the position of the original Sion upon Ophel ; and that a great deal of excavation still remains to be done in Jerusalem. Till then we must be content with holding many of the topographical questions in suspense. But for those now before *us,* both the Biblical and the topographical data are too strong for doubtful answers. The Biblical evidence indubitably identifies Mount Sion with the Temple-Mount, which, there

Final Conclusions.

Ryssel in his ed. of Bertheau's Commentary on Nehemiah ; Buhl, *Geogr. des Alt. Paliist.,* 1896, 132; Driver, Hastings' *D.B. ii.* 554; Bliss, *E,xcay. at Jerus., 5894-97, 287 ff. ;* H. G. Mitchell, *journ. of Bibl. Liter., xxii.,* 1903, tot ; A. B. Davidson, *The Exile and Restoration,* in T. and T. Clark's13dle. *Class Primers.* The list could easily be multiplied.

[1] *Revue Biblique, i.* 17-38 : Topographic de Jerus.'

[2] Another Rom. Catholic, Riess, *Bibl. Geog.,* had adopted the E. Hill theory, but this has been abandoned in a new ed. of his *Atlas Scriptura Sacra,* 1906, by Riickert.

has never been any doubt, was on the East Hill ; and almost as clearly places the City of David' below it. The topographical evidence from the present surface, and still more from excavations, tends wholly to the conclusion that this lower position lay to the south of the Temple upon Ophel, and with this the Biblical accounts agree. The position on the north, which the earlier advocates of the East Hill selected [1] does not suit the Biblical data ; Antonia is not below but above the Temple level. It is true that further excavations in the choked valley bed beyond it might unmask an ancient spring, which could have served as the centre of the earliest settlement and the Jebusite town. But against this there is the fact that the Virgin's Fountain was already in David's time a sacred and therefore an ancient spring ; and had then or shortly fter a tunnel and shaft communicating with the surface of Ophel above it. Thus everything at present points to the Jebusite Sion, the Israelite David's-Burgh, having been situated there ; while, as we have seen, its disappearance can be accounted for.[2] The data, whether Biblical or topographical, appear to me too clear for ndecision on the main points. Subsidiary is the question whether Jerusalem in the Jebusite period was confined to he East Hill. We have seen that this confinement was ssible ;[3] whether it was actual either then or under the Kings are questions that will best be treated at the levant points in the history.

[1] So even v, Alton, *Z.D.P.V.* i. 6o ff.

[2] **AbOve,** P. 159 ff.

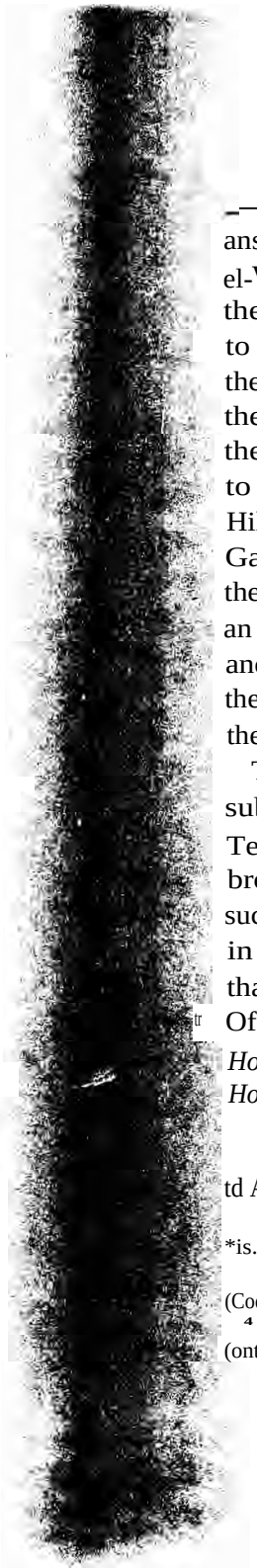
[3] Above, p. 142 ff.

CHAPTER VII

THE VALLEY OF HINNOM

IN Chapter I., on the Site of the City, a detailed account [1] has been given of the two encompassing valleys, the Wady Sitti Mariam and the W. er-Rababi, and of the dividing or central valley, el-Wad. In Chapter II., on Facts and Questions in the Topography, it was pointed out, that no one doubts that the W. Sitti Mariam, the valley which runs down the east of the City, and separates it from the Mount of Olives, is the Kidron of Scripture and Josephus, or that el-Wad is the Tyropceon of Josephus ; but that while the majority of experts in the topography of Jerusalem identify the lower part of the W. er-Rababi with the Biblical Valley of Hinnom or Gehenna, there are some who place the latter in the W. Sitti Mariam, and others in el-Wad. It is to the discussion of this question, the location of the Valley of Hinnom, that we are to address ourselves in the present chapter. Interesting in itself because of the superstitious practices which, under Ahaz and Manasseh, found their scene in Hinnom, and because of the eschatology which later Judaism associated with the name Gehenna, the question of the position is also of very great importance in the topography of Jerusalem. On our

Topographical importance of Valley.



answer, and especially on whether we place the Valley in el-Wad or the W. er-Rababi, will depend our views as to the size of the City under the later kings of Judah ; as to the line of her western and southern walls, and as to the position of such important points as the Valley-Gate, the Dung-Gate and the Dragon's Spring. If el-Wad be the Valley of Hinnom, Jerusalem was confined, down to the Exile and for long after the Return, to the East Hill, and the western wall with the Valley-Gate and Dung-Gate upon it ran up the western slope of Ophel. But if the Wady er-Rababi be Hinnom, the South-west Hill was an integral part of Jerusalem under the kings, the western and southern walls ran round the edge of the Wady, and the two gates named must be sought for on the latter, above the lower stretch of the valley.

The name of this sinister valley has also been the subject of discussion. It is never described in the Old Testament as a *nahal,* a valley with a winter-brook, but always as a gal', a valley without such a brook, for which we have no equivalent in English, but which, because as a rule it is smaller than the other, we may translate *hollow,' glen* or *ravine.* Of the name, there are various forms : Ge- ben- Hinnorn,[2] *Hollow* or *Ravine of the Son of Hinnon ;* Ge-bne-Hinnom,[3] *Hollow of the Sons of Hi21110M;* Ge-Hinnom ;[4] and Hag-Gai

The Name GC:-ben-Hinwin.

This indeed may be the radical meaning of gai' tol¸ from rm *to be hollow:* td Aram btu¸ *the inside.*

114. *text* of Josh. xv. 8, xviii. i6; **2** Chron. xxviii. 3, xxxiii. 6; Jer. *is. 3; and the Heb. and Gk. of Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, xxxii. 35.

Kethibh of **2** Ki. xxiii. io (but the Keri and Gk. have *son),* and the Gk. (Cod. 13) of **2** Chron. xxxiii. 6, and Jer. xix. **2.**

[4] **Josh.** xv. 8, xviii. 16 (once each in Heb., twice in Gk.), and Neh. xi. 30 (ontitted in Gk. Cod. B).

or *The Hollow*.[1] The last two of these occur only in late passages and are doubtless abbreviations of the first, which from its frequency is to be preferred to the second? Whether Ben-Hinnom was the name of a man or of a deity it is impossible to say. The reading is too often confirmed in both the Hebrew and the Greek of the Old Testament[3] to leave room for emendation (Canon Cheyne has on religious grounds proposed Na'aman),[4] and the attempts to translate it as *wailing*,[5] in reference to the cries of the sacrificed children, are fanciful and have received little support. It must be • admitted that no name corresponding to Hinnom, either human or divine, has been found in Hebrew or any other Semitic language;[6] and it is not impossible, therefore, that the term was originally geographical or botanical. It occurs only from the time of Ahaz (? or Manasseh[7]) to that of the Chronicler. In the Targums it appears not in a geographical but in a theological sense;[8] and in the same sense the gorge is described without being named in the Apocalyptic literature .[9] The Books of Maccabees and Josephus do not give the name, nor is it employed geographically in

Chron. xxvi. 9 ; Neh. ii. 13, 15, iii. 13; perhaps also Jer. ii. 23.

[2] The plural Bne may have risen from assonance with the preceding G"e.

[3] Heb. always tthri ; Gk. Evvoa. (most frequently), *OpPou,* OP*, and in Josh, xviii. 16, Patoom (B) and Pat Ovvop. (A).

[4] *Encyc. Bibl., art.* Hinnom, Valley of.'

[5] Dm, as if connected with Arab. *hanna ' to* sigh ' or ' whimper : cf. Graf on Jer. vii. 31.

[6] Unless the Babylonian Ennam, cited by Flommel *(Altisrael. C7berlieferung,* 142, referred to by Guthe, Hauck's *I?.-E.* viii. 669), is the same.

[7] See below. It has been proposed as an emendation to the *Valley of Vision* in Isa. xxii. I, 5.

On Psalm cal. II: Dam

[9] R. H. Charles, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary,* art. Gehenna.'

the Talmud, except perhaps to designate a valley of hot springs east of Jordan.' Apparently it had ceased to be used of the gorge at Jerusalem after 30o B.C.

The Hollow of Hinnom has been placed by different authorities in each of the three valleys of Jerusalem : the eastern Kidron or Wady Sitti Mariam, the central Tyropceon, el-Wad, and the southern (and western) Wady er-Rababi; while some have sought to unite these views, so far as Topheth is concerned, by placing the Patter on the open junction of the three valleys below Siloam.

1. In the *Onomasticon* Eusebius and Jerome place *ratevvovii,* or Gehennom under the eastern wall of Jerusalem ; the Moslem geographers Mukaddasi and Nasir - i Khusrau call the Kidron-valley Wady Jahannum ; the Jewish commentator, Kirnchi,[2] identifies the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom ; and on Fuller's Map in his *Pisgah Sight rf Palestine:the r* Vallis Ben-Hinnom' runs between the City and the Mount of Olives. Dean Stanley and Sir Charles Warren have revived this identification.[3] But their argument for it is defective in all the premises. The identifi-'cation does not follow from Jeremiah xix. I i.' The gate klarsith, which opened on Hinnom, does not mean East-gate. The identity of 'En-rogel with the Virgin's Fountain, on which Sir Charles Warren depends, is contradicted by the narrative of Solomon's coronation.[4] And the Mohammedan tradition, which he quotes, is not only balanced by another, for Idrisi places Jahannum in the W. er-

1. Location in R.idron inadmissible,

[1] Neubauer, *Geog. du Talmud, 36 f.*

[2] On Ina. Ixvi. 24.

[3] r itley, *Recovery of Jerusalem, xiv.;* Warren on Hinnom ' in Hastings' Pict 4,t1*the Bible.*

[4] Sec above, p. lop.

Rababi ;[1] but the origin of it, as well as of the statement in Eusebius, may be easily accounted for—and in this way. When the Ge-ben-Hinnom, as a place-name, had disappeared from the surroundings of Jerusalem, the theological Gehinnom as a state of torment for apostate Jews could not remain in the air, but demanded a local habitation; and this was found for it, if one may judge from Isaiah lxvi. 24, somewhere near the Temple, and in all probability in the valley of the Kidron.[2] As we see from the story of Josiah's reforms, the bed of the Kidron was already a place for refuse and regarded as unclean. The offal of the Temple, according to the Old Testament and the Talmud,[3] was cast into it, and probably in part consumed by fire. In any case, we may see how the theological Gehinnom came to be located here; the more so, that according to the belief about it, the sufferings of its victims were to take place in sight of the righteous, of whose eternal habitations the Temple-courts were the natural symbol. But this location of the theological Gehinnom in the Kidron Valley (from which probably arose the modern name, Wady en-Nar[4]), is no argument for placing there the actual Ge-ben-Hinnom. On the contrary, such a geographical identification is excluded by these two data of the Old

and due to the theological ehenna being placed there.

[1] Robinson, *Bibl. Res. i.* 403; *Z.D.P. V. viii.* 127.

[2] So Kimchi on this passage: cf. the late identification of Kidron with the valley of Jehoshaphat, Joel iii. 12; note also Zech. xiv. 3 ff.

Jer. . xxxi. 4o: *ferns.* Nazir,' 57, 4; *Baby!.* Yoma,' 58, 2. Buhl's identification (p. 94) of the *'mak* of Jer. xxxi. 4o with the Gorge of the Son of Hinnom is on the ground of the name impossible. The *`entek* is the more open space of the Kidron-valley.

[4] In April 1904 I was informed that the Bedouin about Mar Saba sometimes carry the name Wady en-Nar up the W. er-Rababi to the Jaffa-gate. Robinson was told the same, but I cannot find his reference to this.

Testament: that the Kidron is never called Gai but Naha], and that the gate which Nehemiah calls the Gate of the Gai lay not on the east of the City over Kidron, but on the west over either the Tyropceon or the W. er-Rababi.

2. The Ge-ben-Hinnom has been identified by the Rev. W. F. Birch,[1] Professors Robertson Smith[2] and Saxce,[3] and Dr. Schwartz[4] with the Tyropceon. This is not unsuitable to -the place assigned to the Gai in the record of the boundary between Benjamin and Judah,[5] nor to the data provided by Nehemiah .° But it is only possible if the Tyropceon lay outside the City at the time of Manasseh, for human sacrifices never took place within the walls of a town. But, as we have seen, Siloam in the lower Tyropceon was within the City by the *time* of Hezekiah ; and its reservoir, to which that monarch brought the waters of Gihon by a conduit beneath Ophel, could have been of no use to the citizens in time of siege unless they also held the Western Hill.[7] Under Manasseh, therefore, the Tyropceon was well within the City and could not have been the scene of the sacrifice of children.

2. Not in the Tyropceon.

3. There remains the third of the valleys, the Wady Rababi. This suits the direction assigned to the Ge-n-Hinnom on the border between Benjamin and Judah ; and under the later monarchy, as w at all other times, it lay outside the City walls.

3. But in the Rababi.

By far the greatest number of modern authorities accept

1882, 53 ff; 1889, 38 ; 1893, 330 ; 1898, 168, etc.

I *Ste. Brit. (D)* xiii. Jerusalem ' ; *Enc. Bibl.* `Jerusalem,' § 24.

it.E.F.Q. 1883, 213.

t Diu Maio Land, cited by Warren, Hastings' *D.B. ii.* 387.

° Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16.

o Which Robertson Smith, indeed, thinks a proof of the identification.

/ Sec above, p. 38.

it as the Gai? Sir Charles Wilson has suggested that the name Hinnom may have extended to the flat ground where all three valleys meet.' Here, in fact, it was placed by Jerome in his Commentary on Jeremiah:[3] among the gardens watered from Siloam, a place 'amoenus atque nemorosus, hodieque hortorum delicias praebet.' And mediaeval writers argued that Topheth and Hinnom both meant pleasure, and supported the argument by an alleged antithesis between these names and the *Valley of Slaughter* in Jeremiah vii 32.[4] Hence Milton's 'pleasant valley of Hinnom. But the junction of the three valleys is practically part of the Nahal Kidron and too open to be 'designated a Gai. The designation fully suits the W. er-Rababi a little way up from its mouth, where the rocks are high and the passage narrow. Certainly the scenery is there more consonant to the gloomy superstition and its savage rites than are the gardens and groves watered from Siloam. On the ridge to the south lies the traditional Aceldama, the Field of Blood, and the rock around is honeycombed with graves. Melander argues that the traditional Aceldama was the site of Topheth .[5]

Professor Robertson Smith argued for the identification of the Tyropceon with the Hollow of Hinnom on this ground, among others, that Nehemiah describes the Gate of the Gai or *Valley-Gate* to have been moo cubits from the Dung-Gate, which he implies lay close to the Fountain-Gate at the south-east angle of the City.° Now the Gate of the Gai used to be

' The Gate of the Gai.'

1 Quaresmius, Barclay, Robinson, Wilson, Socin, Buhl, Benzinger, etc.
[2] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (2nd ed.), 1373.
[3] On vii. 31 f.
[4] Quaresmius, lib. iv. cap. xviii.
[6] *Z.D.P. V. xvii.* 25 ff.
[6] Neh. ii. 13, iii. 14 f.

placed by those who supported the identification of the Gai with the W. er-Rababil high up the latter at or near the present Jaffa Gate, an impossible distance from the Dung and Fountain gates, according to Nehemiah's data. It was reasonable therefore for Professor Robertson Smith to suppose that the Gate of the Gai lay up the Tyropceon, and that the latter was the Gai itself. But his hypothesis becomes unnecessary if we can prove, or indeed may only reasonably suppose, the existence of an ancient city-gate above some lower stretch of the Valley of Hinnom. In itself such a position for a gate is more than probable. On the theory (for which the evidence is irresistible) that Jerusalem of the Kings covered the South-west Hill, the western and southern city wall cannot possibly have run the whole way round from the present Jaffa Gate to Siloam without another gate somewhere between these points. The most natural position for such a gate is about the south-west corner. Near this, in 1894, Dr: Bliss began his celebrated excavations, which revealed a line of wall running south-east from the end of the Protestant Cemetery, and then, still on the edge of the Hill, eastward' to the south-east corner of the ancient City. In this wall, just before it turns east, that is practically at *the* south-west corner, he laid bare an ancient gateway,' with four sills, one above the other, representing four different periods : and from these he traced north-east -$, into the ancient City a line of street.' On the first reports '-of this Gate, Professor Guthe in 1895 identified it with the Gate of the Gai.[4] In the spring of 1901, with Dr.

Robinson, *B.R. i. 423;* Schick, *Z.D.P. V. viii. 272.*
**The* first to suggest a gate here was, I believe, Professor Stade, in 1888: *47a(4. ii.* 167.
[1] 4.1.WW, *at Jerus. 1894-97,16 ff.*
[4] *Itf.u.N.D.P. V.*, 1895.

Bliss's book before me, I twice carefully examined the course of the excavations, once under the guidance of Dr. Bliss himself, and, ignorant of Dr. Guthe's identification, came to the same conclusion. In 1901-2, Professor Mitchell of Boston, then in residence as head of the American Archwological School, also independently reached this identification.[1] These separate arrivals at the same point illustrate how probable a position this is for the Gate of the Gai. But the four sills of the gateway seem all to belong to the Christian era ;[2] if Nehemiah's Gate of the Gai stood exactly here, none of its masonry has survived. Moreover, the distance to the south-east angle of the City, near which Nehemiah's Dung Gate opened, is still rather great for Nehemiah's datum of 1000 cubits between the gates. Dr Bliss's work has disclosed certain alternatives round the south-east corner nearer the Siloam end of the wall, and more in harmony with Nehemiah's statement of its distance from the latter. One of these is between his Towers III. and iv., but here he marks no sign of a gateway in either his higher or lower line of wall. Another alternative is between his Towers iv. and v., the proximity of which, as he says, favours the idea `that they once flanked a gate midway between them, at a point where a drain coming from the north butts against the rubble foundation,' and where there are other signs of a gate.[3] No gate was here found by him, and he says the presence of a gate between the corners remains uncertain. Yet it is to be noted that to the north, on the eastern slope of the South-west Hill, he laid bare a line of paved street running north and

[1] *Journal of Bibi. Liter.,* 1903, io8 ff., with plan.
[2] See below, pp. 225 ff.
[3] *Excay. at ferns. 27.*

south.' From its crossing certain terrace pavements, he gathers it was late, and he did not follow the line of it south to his walls ; but we must remember the tendency of successive streets in Jerusalem to follow the same ancient lines, ' and a slight diversion of this street to the west would bring it to a point midway between Towers iv. and v.' [2] This point is distant from the gate opened by Dr. Bliss not far from the south-east corner, which may be Nehemiah's ' Dung Gate,' about 1280 feet, while the distance of the Gate at the South-west corner is nearly 1900 feet. Neither figure is near to the woo cubits, about 1600 feet, which Nehemiah gives presumably (but not necessarily) as the distance from the Gate of the Gai to the Dung Gate.[3] But in any case, it is clear that the Gate of the Gai must have opened over the Gai-ben-Hinnom somewhere near the south-west corner of the South-west Hill, where what has always been a main line of street through the City from north to south terminated ; and where a pathway used by men and laden animals still passes down the brow of the hill, not far from the Gate unearthed by Dr. Bliss, into the W. r-Rababi, the bed of which is from 13o to 170 feet b ow the sills of the Gate. In the bed it meets a path up and down the valley, and another which climbs southwards the opposite hill. With such an approximate position for the. Gate of the Gai, there is removed the last objection to identifying the Gai with the Wady er-Rababi.

We have now made it clear that, although Sion, or David's-Burgh, and the earliest city lay upon the East

[1] *Excay. at ferns.* 78 : part of this was previously uncovered by the Maguslinians : cf *P.E.EQ., 1894, IS. Iii.* 80.
[3] Nch. iii. 13.

Hill, Jerusalem extended under the Kings of Judah over the South-west Hill also ; and found her limits, as we have assumed in previous chapters, on the edges of the two Hills of her site above the W. Sitti Mariam and the W. er-Rababi respectively. We are now therefore ready for the fourth of the great topographical questions we have to consider before we attack the details of the history ; the exact course of the City Walls.

Conclusions as to the extent of the City.



CHAPTER VIII

THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM

HAVING now before us the extent of ancient Jerusalem within at least her eastern, southern, and western boundaries, we are able to state—even if we find it impossible wholly to answer—the questions connected with the City walls. The Facts and Questions. While the Jebusite fortress of Sion, afterwards called David's-Burgh, lay upon Ophel, and this part of the East Hill may also have held the rest of Jebusite Jerusalem ; the City of the Jewish Kings covered both the East and West Hills along with the Central Valley : or all between the Kidron on the east and the Valley of Hinnom on the west and south.[2] Above these ' impassable ravines,' Josephus tells us that a single line of wall sufficed for the defence of the City ;[3] while from Nehemiah we learn many of the details of its course along the edge of them.[4] The natural direction for this single wall to take is so obvious that there has been virtual agreement as to its general course, especially since Abe excavations of Sir Charles Warren and Professor Guthe on the East Hill and of Mr. Maudslay and Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hill. In this quarter of the City

See above, Chapter vi.

[2] Chapter vii.

Tparl ate *6' oixupw,.Levn reIxecrtv 12 redur xa0' *, µ vats clpcirois* Ocipayt Moora,rato-v *yap* Els *reptficAos : v. B. J.,* iv. T.

See below, pp. 195 ff.

the only uncertainties are : at what times the line of wall included, and at what times it excluded, the Pools of Siloam in the mouth of the Tyropceon valley ; and whether a line of wall also ran up the western edge of Ophel. Much more difficult to determine is the course of the north wall or walls. On the north, as we have seen, the natural features are not so positive as are the ravines on the east, south and west of the City ; both within and since our period, building, destruction and re-building have been much more frequent here than on the south; and it is not possible to conduct, as there, long continuous lines of excavation. Nehemiah indicates along the northern face of the City only a single line of wall, but we are told by the Chronicler of a *second wall* in pre exilic times (built by Hezekiah),[1] which is now generally understood as a north wall enclosing a suburb of the earlier City in the only direction in which (as we have seen) the City, after it had occupied the South-west Hill, could expand into suburbs. But Josephus reports for his time no fewer than three northern walls. Of these the First Wall[2] was the inmost and most southerly, the earliest northern rampart of the City ; before Hezekiah built out in front of it his second wall. Modern opinion is generally agreed as to the course of this First Wall : the natural line for it was the north edge of the South-west Hill above the ravine which runs from the present Jaffa Gate eastward into the Central Valley. The Second Wall of Josephus would then be Hezekiah's *second wall,* and if this be correct, it is the single northern

Chron. xxxii. 5.

[2] It must be kept in mind by the student that when describing the advance of Titus into the City, Josephus reverses the above order of the three walls, and that his Third, or Agrippa's wall, is then called by him the First.

line of wall described by Nehemiah. The course it followed is still one of the least understood and most hotly debated questions of the topography. Nehemiah's description implies that it ran from the north-east corner of the City, that is from the north of the Temple enclosure of his time (or somewhere to the south of the ravine that falls into the I.idron Valley, under the present Haram area, north of the Golden Gate)] across the East Hill and the Central Valley to some uncertain point above Hinnom on the South-west Hill. Josephus describes it as starting from Antonia, on the north-west of the Temple enclosure, and following a curved line to the Gate Genath on the First Wall, somewhere near the north-western corner of the latter. The beginning and end are therefore more or less fixed points ; but, for the reasons given above, the ntervening course is, and at present cannot but be, much disputed. Though probable on one or other of two widely differing` ines—one of which excludes the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the other, partly following the present north wall of the City, includes it—the course of the Second Wall is still unknown to us. The Third Wall of Josephus was built by Agrippa north of the Second, in order to cover a new suburb : all we certainly know of it is that it included Bezetha : the rest of its course is largely a matter of inference.

These are the main certainties and uncertainties of the ubject before us. Minor questions must be separately ,cussed in the historical part of this volume, at the dates at which they arise. But it will be following in-convenient to give in the present chapter a q[uiry-] neral statement of the data, topographic, archwological,

Course of the

[1] See above, pp. 33 f.

and literary, and the more certain conclusions which may be drawn from them. I propose to start from the present walls, define the kind of evidence on which we seek to identify the ancient walls, and summarise first the literary and then the archaeological evidence.

I. THE PRESENT CITY WALLS.

The Present Walls and their Predecessors back to Titus.

It will be most convenient to start with the present City walls and their predecessors back to the time of Titus, because it is the present City walls, complete and dominant as they are, which tend to govern the mind of the student, but which, nevertheless, except in so far as they follow the natural boundaries of the site, he must ignore in his quest of the ancient lines of fortification. The walls of Jerusalem, with their towers and gates, owe their present form *(circa 1540)* to the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, the successor of Selim I. who, in 1517, brought Syria under the dominion of the Turks. The variety of their construction is no less apparent than that of the character of their course. On the east, and partly on the west, this follows the natural line of fortification above the encompassing valleys, and the mixed, and largely modern, masonry rests in many parts upon courses of an ancient date. The north wall also contains some lower courses of an ancient character still *in situ;* and with some exceptions, to be afterwards noted, coincides with an old line of wall within a great rock-hewn ditch, which entrenched it against the plateau to the north. But the present south wall follows no natural or intelligible

[1] An inscription on the Damascus Gate ascribes its rebuilding to Suleiman in the year 5537.

line of fortification. Leaving the edge of the W. er-Rababi just above the Pool of the Sultan, it strikes east across the middle of the back of the South-west Hill on an average rock-level of just over 250o feet (762 in.) for 275 yards (251 m.). Descending a little to the Burj el-Kibrit, 2388 feet (728 m.), the wall turns thence north and north-east, on pretty much the same level, to a point from which it strikes nearly due east across the Tyropceon valley (traversing the rock-bed of this at about 2250 feet, 686 m.) to a point on Ophel 2326 feet (709 m.). Here it turns at a right angle north to the southern wall of the Haram. There had never been a satisfactory explanation of the curious course of this south wall till Sir Charles Wilson, from a reasonable argument as to the position and size of the Legionary Camp on the South-west Hill (A.D. 70-132), suggested that the Wall follows the southern limit of that camp, and then crosses the Tyropceon on the line of Hadrian's city of Aelia." This was also the southern line of the Crusaders' Jerusalem. But it excludes from the City the half of the South-west Hill, all Ophel and the lower, Tyropceon, which were enclosed, as we have seen, by the First Wall of Josephus : the wall which Titus left ruined, and which was doubtless further destroyed by the commanders of the Legionary Camp and by Hadrian. Between Hadrian and the Crusaders the following changes took place in the south wall of the City. In the fourth century it still ran upon the south line of the Camp and Hadrian's City across the back of the South-west Hill.[2] But *by* the fifth century all the South-west Hill, now

adotha, etc., 143 ff. These arguments as to the Camp and Hadrian's City, and their conclusions, should be studied by all who seek a clear view of the later topography.

[2] So the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333 A. D.

called Mount Sion," was again included within a wall, which, however, left Siloam outside as it crossed to Ophel ;[2] and the Empress Eudocia, consort of Theodosius ii., who resided in Jerusalem about 45o A.D., is said to have added walls which brought Siloam within the City.[3] These, which must have run down the edge of the South-west Hill to the mouth of the Tyropceon, across this and up the eastern edge of Ophel, remained probably till the capture of the City by the Persians under Chosroes 514 A.D., who effected much ruin of the public buildings, and doubtless of the walls as well. After this the south City-wall was again drawn upon the line of Hadrian's, along which it has remained to the present day.' It is interesting that the City thus owes its present southern shape, not to its ancient and native growth, but to the stamp of its Roman conquerors.

The City walls just described all rose outside of our period, or subsequent to the destruction by Titus. Their dates within the Christian era are marked by several signs : Byzantine, Crusading or Saracenic architecture and ornament, either on themselves, or on other buildings which their position may prove to be earlier than themselves ; or the insertion in them of Roman inscriptions, evidently out of place ;[5]

Their characteristics.

[1] See above, pp. 161 ff.

[2] The Epitome ascribed to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, 430-450: *vol. ii.* p. Io : on the preferred reading, Siloam is said to he `infra muros'; another reading, intra muros,' may he a later emendation to suit the change brought about by the Empress Eudocia's wall : cf. Bliss, *Excay. at ferns.* 307, 3,18; Wilson, *Golgotha,* 347.

[3] Antoninus Martyr (560-570 A.D.), xxv.; cf. Theodosius (c. 53o), xlvii.: *P.P.T. vol.* ii.

[4] Cf. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 69o, lines 15-22.

[5] As, for example, the presence of an inscription of Hadrian upside down

or their position above rubbish containing remains of the Christian era, or other similarly obvious proofs. All such walls must be put aside from our inquiry into the walls before and up to Titus, except (as I have said) in so far *as* they follow lines of fortification older than themselves, and contain the material of the latter still *in situ.*

PROOFS OF THE ANCIENT WALLS UP TO TITUS, AND THEIR LIMITS.

But where we find remains of walls on the natural lines of fortification or (which is much the same) on lines indicated by Josephus, and without any sign of the Christian era in or below them, we may examine these in the expectation of detecting in their structure or surroundings some further evidence that they belong. to our period. We know the natural lines of fortification, and Josephus has traced along them, at least on the east, south and west of the City, the course of the walls which were standing in his day.' He also describes their structure. They rose from precipitous rocks. At interyals there were towers, with solid bases, built of huge blocks so carefully joined to each other as to appear one mass of stone.[2] We know also that it was the custom at the time to protect these bases by revetments (as engineers call them) of masonry, built at the angle of slope best calculated to resist the -ram and projectiles, and to render escalade diffiCult,' and that opposite gates and the more assailable parts of the line, ditches, ,rkunterscarps and other outworks were cut in the rock .[3]

The Marks of earl er Walls

IA the south wall of the Hara,m, *P.E.F. Mem.,* 'Jams.' 9; Schick, *Die Stifishilite u. der Tempel z. ferns.* 340 f.

[2] *Ibid. 2-4.*

[4] v. *B.J.* v. 1.

[2] \Wilson's summary of Philo of Byzantium *(circa* B.C. 15o) in *Golgotha,* 122.

Tacitus, too, describes the walls of Jerusalem as carried round the two hills and ingeniously drawn with curves and re-entrant angles. They rose, he adds, on scarps which added greatly both to their height and that of the towers,' besides lifting the masonry beyond reach of rams and miners. He refers, of course, to the rocky slopes above the valleys where scarps were possible. On level ground the wall was built much broader, and was entrenched by a rock-cut ditch. Now where such features of fortification—thus reported either of Jerusalem herself in the Roman period or as usual at the time—are discovered to-day along any of the natural lines of wall described by Josephus, without recognisable remains of the Christian era about them, we may safely identify the remains as earlier than the siege by Titus. Position on one of the known ancient lines of wall, foundation upon the rock itself beneath the virgin soil, with scarps below where scarps were possible, and, where they were not, with extremely thick and solid masonry ; the stones large, finely drafted and fitting exactly to each other, and with no appearance of being anything else than *in situ—these* are the marks which experienced excavators consider to be justifications for assigning a wall to the period before Titus.[2] Sometimes, indeed, there may be additional

Sed urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quis vel plans satis munirentur. Nam duos colles in immensum editos claudehant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis abrupta, et tomes ubi mons juvisset, in sexagenos pedes ; inter devexa in centenos vicenosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares.'—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. r 1.

[2] Dr. Guthe *(Z.D.P. V,* 1882, 273 ff.) suggests another sign for determining the ancient lines of wall. Quoting Strabo's report (see above, p. s6), that while the City had abundant supplies of water within its walls, the environs were waterless, he argues that the course of the ancient walls cannot have run far outside the region of frequent cisterns. But Strabo's words are rather

evidence in the presence of a layer of *debris* above these remains of wall and below the foundation of another and later wall ; for, as Dr. Bliss has reasonably argued in the case of such a superimposed wall round the South-west Hill, the *d/bris* may represent the ruin and waste in this quarter during the long period between Titus and the fifth century, and in this case the lower wall is that which Titus overthrew. But we must remember that while the data we have quoted may suffice to prove an origin within our period for the remains of walls on the southern end of the City's site, where we know the ancient and natural lines, and where our knowledge of subsequent building is comparatively good, the same data are not so conclusive upon the North-west Hill, on which, along now unknown lines, a good deal of building and rebuilding was effected in the early Christian centuries, upon, it may have been, the same principles which characterise the ancient architecture. And this is part of the reason of the difficulty of identifying any remains of walls found on the North-west Hill with the Second Wall of Josephus.

As yet we have only discovered evidence sufficient to prove ancient remains as portions of the walls extant in the time of Josephus. The further attempt to assign their construction to some definite period or periods before his date is a much more difficult and, in great part, an impossible task. Mr. Dickie, an expert architect and the colleague

Difficulty of assigning them to definite Periods.

to be understood of the distribution of springs (compare passage of Dion Assius quoted above on the same page); and, in fact, the large P. E.F. map, As well as Schick's and Benzinger's, show the remains of many ancient ciAterus outside the City, especially on the northern plateau. The evidence form cisterns is therefore limited by Dr. Guthe himself to the steep southern Itioik of the City ; yet, even here, it is in some cases uncertain owing to our ticfective knowledge of the rock surface, and in others superfluous.

of Dr. Bliss in the excavations on the South-west Hill and Ophel, has recently warned us against the use of a standard on which much reliance was once placed :[1] the style of the masonry and stone-dressing. His conclusions are, that whatever light may have been thrown on the subject by his investigations, it does not help us to define the date of a building by its dressing. On the contrary, it tends to encourage scepticism as to the possibility of fixing periods by any -hard and fast rules of masonry alone. Each succeeding style has mingled with its predecessor from the time of its introduction. Boss and margin work may have been used in early Jewish times, but was undoubtedly used in later Jewish, Roman times, and afterwards. Comb-pick margin with pick-centred dressing was certainly used contemporarily with the boss and margin, and may have been used ' before. Quarry-pick dressing is universal. The delicate pick-centre and comb-picked margined dressing of the Haram area is certainly characteristic of one great building period, such as that of Herod might signify?' And Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out how boss and margin work—the bosses left to weaken the force of the ram, the margins made to assist the exact fitting of the stones—prevails from the very earliest times down to the castles of the Crusades.[3] Thus stone-dressing and masonry become minor means of proof as to the dates of the walls, and can be used only

1 P.E.F.Q.,1897 , 61: Stone-Dressing in Jerusalem, Past and Present'; republished in Bliss and Dickie's *Excay. at Jerwalem,* 5894-97, 273

[2] Mr. Dickie adds that the plain-faced styles with comb-pick and chisel-pick dressings may have been introduced into Jerusalem in Roman times, and have been used since. The furrowed Crusading dressing seems alone to definitely date its origin, and its after-use is beyond doubt.'

[3] *Golgotha,* 124.

along with other lines of evidence; such as inscriptions Greek, Hebrew, or Phoenician; pottery; styles of architecture analogous to those of buildings in other parts of the country known to be archaic ; and the literary or historical evidence that at certain periods certain lines of wall were built. But, unfortunately, no inscriptions have been found connected with any masonry in Jerusalem earlier than the Greek notice which stood on a fence in Herod's Temple to warn Gentiles from entering further ;[1] the argument to dates from analogies of style is precarious ; and we are left with the Phoenician marks on the lower courses of the east wall of the Haram with the pottery ; and with the historical evidence that at certain dates the walls of Jerusalem ran on certain lines, were breached, ruined or restored, and that the reigns of certain kings were periods of fine and extensive building.

3. THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

The first of these periods which we come to behind the time of Josephus is the Herodian ; and upon the historical evidence, it is possible to identify as Herod's The Herodian not a little masonry still extant in Jerusalem. Period.

The solid basis of the so-called David's Tower' in the present citadel is certainly the platform from which Herod's Tower of Phasael arose .[3] The dimensions approximate to the round numbers which Josephus gives.[4] The stones

See below, Bk. ii. ch. ix.

Ram. of Jerus. 539,242 ff.; P.E.F. Mem., Jerus! 150

[3] Schick, *Z.D.F V* i. 226 ff., xi. 49; *P.E.F. Mem.* 8, 267 ; Socin and Benzinger in *Baedeker,* 81 f. ; Wilson, *Golgotha,* 127 (and earlier works); Guthe, flauck's viii. 685, line 59. See Plate vs.

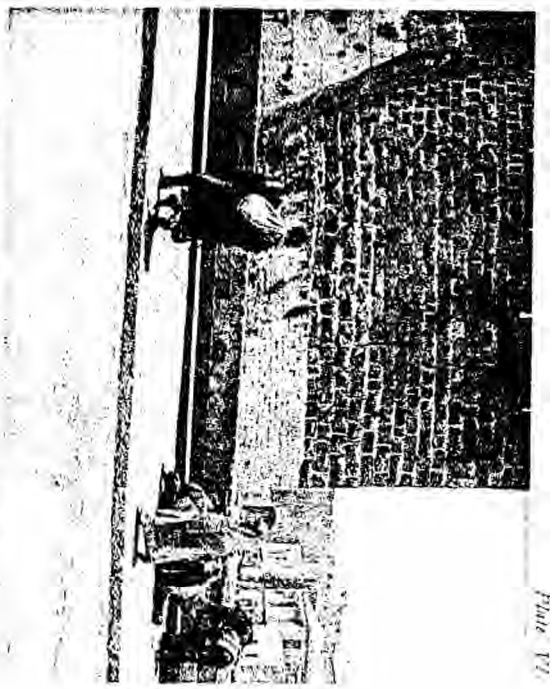
[4] Jos. v. *B.J.* iv. 3 : he makes the Tower base a cube of 4o cubits (approximately 6o feet): The actual dimensions are 65.6 feet (20 m.) high ;

with bosses and margins are cubes of just over four feet (r25 m.), and are closely set to each other without mortar. The Greek influence which we should expect under Herod is `very apparent . . . the beautifully-dressed and jointed stones of the sloping revetment are essentially Greek in character!' But Herod's greatest work was the rebuilding of the Temple and its courts. Josephus says that he made the sacred area twice as large as before.[2] As the rock sloped downwards from all sides of the old Temple courts, this extension can only have been effected by the inclusion of the slopes within retaining walls, and the covering of them with rubbish or great substructures. It is generally agreed that the result was the present Haram area, as far north as Solomon's Throne,' and parts of its surrounding walls. The south-west corner of the area lies over the bed of the Tyropceon valley, and Sir Charles Warren found that the portion of the wall which encloses it, or all between the Bab el-MughArib on the west wall and the Double Gate on the south, was not only of different construction from the walls on either side of it, but must have been built after the valley had been filled with rubbish to the height of 23 feet (7 m.) from the rock ; for up to this level (which is that of the pavement under Robinson's arch and the foot of the pier of that arch) the wall is built with rough-faced stones not intended to be seen, and only the portion above has been made to resemble the other parts of the wall.[3] This masonry,

55'7[8] (17 m.) broad and 70'21 (ar 4.co m.) long. These numbers are taken from' *aedeker.*

[2] JOS. i. *B.j.xxi.* 1. He gives details of the building in xv. *Ant. xi.*

[3] *Recov. of ferns.* 119 f., and especially 122 f. ; cf. 325 ; *P.E.F. Meer. 175;* cf. Jos. v. *B.J. v. I,* on the filling of the valleys ; that of the Tyropceon he ascribes to the Hasmonuans, *id.* iv. I.



THE NORTH-EAST TOWER OF THE CITADEL.
Called 'David's Tower' but really Herod's Tower, Phasael.

Plate VI

along with Robinson's Arch and the pavement below it, Sir Charles Warren ascribes to the Herodian age, and the ascription has been generally accepted. It is probable that the northern wall of the klaram is not of the same period. There is no report of any work by Herod upon the City walls,, but from his building of the great towers, we may infer that he not only repaired but in parts wholly rebuilt them ; and that the strength of the fortifications which Titus found so formidable was largely due to him. Herod was an experienced builder of fortresses, and one cannot become familiar with the walls of those which he raised in other parts of the country, without feeling assured that no yard of the fortifications of Jerusalem was overlooked by his vigilance or neglected by his engineers.

From Herod back to Nehemiah, we meet with a series of reports of destructions both of the City and the Temple %>i ills, and of their restorations, which, if we took them literally, might well fill us with despair of finding extant any considerable portion of the pre-Herodian or Biblical walls, These reports speak not only of breachings but of repeated coverlurnings," pullings down,' and razings ' of the walls round about ' ; and not merely of Jewish `repairs' and heightenings,' but of complete `rebuilding' or fortifying round about,' till behind these restorations, after such apparently thorough demolitions, the Jews were able to resist new sieges by large forces. But even if we give only a little credence to these strong statements, they are so frequent, that the walls which Nehemiah restored can have reached the days of Herod only in patchwork and after many partial divergences from their original lines. Here again, however, we must make a

Frequent destructions in the centuries behind Herod.

distinction between the wall on the South - west Hill and the walls on the north and the east of the City. Round the South-west Hill, as we have seen, far less rubbish has been _ shot than on those other lines ; the assaults from the north were much more frequent, and there, therefore, the destruction of the walls must have been much more thorough. Probably the wall on the South-west Hill was often spared when the northern and eastern walls were ruined or even razed to the ground.

Behind Herod's time the first destruction we reach is that of 64 B.C. Though admitted to the City and obliged to take only the Temple Mount by storm, Pompey is said to have overturned the walls of the City, and Hyrcanus II. or Antipater got leave from Caesar to restore them.' Behind this there is the breaking down of the fortifications, that encompassed the City, by Antiochus vii. (Sidetes) after Ms siege in 134, and the rebuilding of the walls by John Hyrcanus.[2] Behind this are the destructions and rebuildings of the Maccabean period ; the pulling down of the walls by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 ;[3] the fortification' of the Temple Mount round about with high walls and strong towers' by Judas Maccabeus in 165,[4] so that he was able to withstand a siege by Antiochus vi. till the latter promised him favourable terms, but broke his word and ' pulled down the wall' of the sanctuary round about.'[6] In 153 Jonathan `rebuilt the walls and Mount Sion round about' ;[6] and some seven years later heightened

The List of these back to Nehemiah.

[1] *Jos. xiv. Ant.* iv. 4, viii. 5 ; I *B.J. vii. i ff.,* x. 3, *TA retxn . . . ant. Kricral Karecri-papqava.* [2] *Jos. xiii. Ant.* viii. 3 ; I Macc. xvi. 23.
a I Macc. i. 31 ; /c*acao*• Ta, TE1X71. [4] *Id.* iv. 60 ; cf. vi. 26.
[6] *1d.* vi. 51-62 [6] *Id.* x. io *f.*

the walls and raised a great mound between the Akra and the City. When there fell down part of the wall of the winter-brook,' that is of the east wall above Kidron, he repaired that which is called Chaphenatha.'[1] Simon also heightened the walls of the City.[2] Behind the Maccabean period lie two more or less severe injuries to Jerusalem : by Artaxerxes Ochus about 350, when the City is said to have been sacked and the Temple burnt,[3] and by Ptolemy (Lagi) who is reported to have torn down or destroyed the City ;[4] and there was at least one period of reconstruction under the high priest Simon, the son of Onias *(c.* 25o), who by repairing and fortifying the Temple, making a reservoir and building a wall, *took thought for his people against the spoiler, and strengthened his City against eg e .*[5]

These are all the destructions and rebuildings of the walls reported during the four centuries back from Herod to Nehemiah, with whom we again secure detailed data of the lines of the walls and their construction. These data are valid, not only for Nehemiah's time, but for the pre-exilic period, as will appear from the following reasons. What Nehemiah describes is not the building of new walls, but as his explicit statements declare, the restoration of the old walls, whose ruin had so stirred his pious heart. That with some few exceptions he carefully followed the old

Nehemiah's Restoration of the Pre-exilic

Macc. xii. 35-37. There seems to have been some manipulation of the text here. One would expect after the clause, ' part of the winter-brook wall Sell down,' the simple statement that ' he repaired it' ; but a later hand seems clumsily to have added that which is called Chaphenatha.' See above, lip. 33 f.

Dindorf, 1486 ; but see below, Bk. iii., under the Persians.
4 Appian, *Syr.* 5o.· [5] ECCICSiaStiCLIS I. 1-4 (Hebrew text).

lines, is further proved by his finding that the enclosed space was too large for the meagre population who had returned to the City from exile, as well as by the fact that so many of his landmarks can be identified as already extant in pre-exilic times. His discriminating diction reveals that while his restoration may here and there have been from the rock upwards, in large part it was but a *strengthening* or fortifying, a *healing* or a stopping, of the breaches in the old wall.' There are three passages in the Book of Nehemiah in which the course of the wall is defined or indicated, all of them, except for certain interpolations and corruptions of the text, from Nehemiah himself: ii. 13-15, Nehemiah's inspection of the walls ; iii. 1-32, the account of the rebuilding ; xii. 31-41, the account of the two processions at the Dedication.[2] From these passages we learn that the wall of Jerusalem, which Nebuchadrezzar destroyed and Nehemiah restored, followed on the west, south, and east the natural boundaries of the site above the Ge-ben-Hinnom and the Nahal Kidron ; and enclosed the north of the City on a line not so determinable across the two Hills and the Central Valley.

We may start our tour of this wall from the point at

[1] See below, Bk. iii., under Nehemiah.

[2] See for the text and criticism of these the Commentaries (Ryssel's edition of Bertheau, Ryle, and Bertholet), and also the valuable study by H. G. Mitchell, The Wall of Jerusalem according to the Book of Nehemiah' in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxii. 1903, pp. 85.163, with plan and numerous photographs. Dr. Mitchell offers reasons (88 fE) for believing that the account of the rebuilding, iii. 5-32, did not form a part of Nehemiah's own story, and Dr. Torrey (see below, Bk. iii.) had previously argued on the same lines. But their reasons do not appear to me to be conclusive. The passage is accepted as substantially authentic by the commentators and analysts of the Book. Dr. Mitchell allows that it contains valuable material.

which Nehemiah began his inspection : the Gate of the Gal or Ge-ben-Hinnom, the Valley Gate of our English versions' We have seen that this gate opened in the City wall either at the south-west corner where Dr. Bliss discovered an ancient gateway, or somewhat further to the east[2] From here the wall ran east on the southern edge of the South-west Hill, moo cubits, or about 1800 feet, to the Dung Gate.[3] Here, near the south-east corner, where he could see both their , southern and eastern lines, Nehemiah *viewed the walls of Jerusalem,* and from this view-point he *crossed* or *went on to the Fountain Gate and the Kings Pool.*[4] His language does not enable us to decide whether the Fountain Gate lay at the end of the South-west Hill, the south-east corner, that is south of the mouth of the Tyropceon Valley ; or whether by *crossing* he means lie crossed the latter and came to the Fountain Gate on its north side.[5] My own judgment is that his *crossing* or *passing on* has nothing to do with the mouth of the Tyropceon, on the north of which no gate has yet been verified, but refers to his passage from the point from which he took his view of the walls back to their south-east corner, at which Dr. Bliss unearthed an ancient gate, and that then, as he says,

The South Wall.

[1] Neh. ii. 13. [2] See above, pp. 177 ff.

[3] n'tOirt, (Neh. ii. 13, iii. 14, xii. 31) Gate of the Ashhcaps ; ace. to Robertson Smith *(Rd. of Sem.,* 357 n. ; 377 n.) originally hearth,' from hu): in which case it was possibly named after the neighbouring Topheth. In Neh. iii. 13 it is r#ir) 131 , from which some have thought the name Tyropmon= cheesemaking,' is derived ; as if 71i0 =' curds' or' cheese' had been substituted for ribrjN It may originally have been Gate of the Topheth.'

[4] 14.

[5] SO Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* vii. 679, lines 24 f., Mitchell *(op. cit. ii6).*

he came to the King's Pool, one or other of the two Pools of Siloam, intending to proceed inside the City walls ; but finding the road there so blocked with ruin that *the beast under him had no place to pass,* he came out of the wall again and *went up by the Nall&* or Kidron valley.'

In any case the wall turned north across the mouth of the Tyropceon below the two pools to the east edge of Ophel, up which it ran *past the sepulchres of David and the made Pool'* to the *Rouse of The Gibborim,* the barrack of David's guards, in or close to David's-Burgh, which, as we have seen, lay above Gihon, the Virgin's Spring. The next point mentioned on the wall is an *angle* or *turning,* after the wall had passed the *ascent of the arms* or *armoury.'* The configuration of the hill requires an angle in the wall above Gihon, and lire Dr. Guthe discovered ancient remains which indicate one.[4] Passing there the house of the High Priest, and those of other priests—an indication that it was

The East Wall.

1 ii. 15. The King's Pool may be the same as the Pool of the Shelah or that at the mouth of the tunnel. Guthe *(Z.D.P.V.* v. 357) takes it as the older pool, of which he thinks he discovered remains here, but as we have seen (above, p. 97), this is uncertain. Or it may have been the Birket el ljamil (above, p. 98) ; or if the Fountain Gate was on the north side of the Tyropceon valley, the Virgin's Spring as Robinson *(B. B. i.* 474) supposes, or more correctly the pool which, as we found, possibly existed once near that Spring. The existence of this pool would remove ' the serious objection' which Mitchell (p. 12o) takes to Robinson's view.

[2] iii. 16. Positions quite uncertain. The tombs of David, as we have seen above, p. 94, are still to be found. There' is probability in Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion that the great curve on the tunnel was made in order to avoid them. Guthe holds that the Made Pool was one of the reservoirs he found on Ophel *(Z.D.P.V.* v. 334 f.), but as Mitchell remarks, these appear too small. Schick *(id xiv.* 54) places this pool on the east of the ridge above the tombs ; see Plan.

[3] **Hi.** 19: text uncertain; Mitchell (155) emends to *past the chamber of arms to the angle.*

[4] *Z.D.P. V. v.* 298.

approaching the Temple Mount "—the wall reached another angle' equally required by the configuration of the hill just south of the end' of the remains discovered by Sir Charles Warren. Here three, if not four, prominent features are named : the *Water-Gate, Wall of the 'Ophel,* and one *tower that standeth out,* if not two.' The Water-Gate must have been so called because it opened on the path descending from the City to Gihon, and it probably stood not far from where the path *by* which water is still carried from the Virgin's Spring into Jerusalem approaches the top of Ophel. Close by, Sir Charles Warren found the remains of a great tower, which he identifies with *the tower that standeth out.*[4] Thrice is this phrase used in these verses, and it is doubtful whether the same tower is always meant by it, or whether two different projecting towers are intended. *The Wall of the Oplzel* was probably the ancient wall which ran across the north end of the ridge and enclosed the earliest site of the City.[5] From here the East wall continued north *above the Horse-Gate,* which was connected with the palace,° and therefore stood near the south-east corner of the present Haram area. From the Horse-Gate the wall ran past priests' houses in the more sacred precincts just opposite the Temple, and then past the houses of Temple servants and mer-

1 iii. 20-23. [2] **hi. 24.** [3] **ill, 25-27 ; Xii.** 37.
[4] *Ram offvies.* 295. [5] See above, p. 143. Cf. Mitchell, [2]59 f.
* trolon Ve) iii. 28, cf. **2** Ki. xi. 16, **2** Chron. xx.n. 15, Jer. xxxi. 40.

The discriminating preposition *above* or *over may* mean either that the Horse-**Gate** *was* an entry in the lower courses of the wall leading to some substructions of the palace, or lay below the line of wall repaired by Nehemiah **On An** outer and older line. It can hardly imply *both* of these, as Mitchell Auggests. But perhaps to make either of these inferences is to force the int pouition, which may only imply that the Horse Gateway itself needed no evpair, but only the. wall which ran over it.

chants in the less sacred precincts to the north, and *over against the Gate of the Muster,'* to the *high chamber* or *turret of the corner,* apparently the north-east angle, and *the Sheep Gate,* also placed by Nehemiah on the north.' Now at this time the Temple area did not extend so far north as does the Haram area, whose north-east corner lies over the ancient ravine tributary to the Kidron. The Temple precincts must have come to an end on the south of this ravine. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we place the north-east angle of Nehemiah's wall very little north of the present Golden Gate.

Nehemiah's North and West Wall.

From the Sheep Gate, close to the north-east corner of the City, the first twelve verses of Chapter iii., and (in the reverse direction) the route of the Second Procession, Chapter xii. 38 f. give us the course of the wall round the north and west of the City to our starting-point at the Gate of the Gal. On the northern stretch of this route we find ourselves among the uncertainties spoken of in the beginning of the chapter, for we no longer follow the margin of the encompassing valleys, but strike across the East Hill, the Central Valley and the West Hill, where there are no such natural features to determine the line. If the north-east corner and the Sheep Gate lay, as we have seen probable, on the

[1] iimrzn ivv), iii. 31 : cf. Ezek. xliii. **21,** where Hammiphkadh seems to be a place just outside the Temple.

[2] **tgltri VC/** Neh. iii. r, 32, xii. 39. These are conclusive for its position on the north. K. Furrer in *Z.N.T. W,.1902, 260,* sets the Sheep Gate on the west wall of the Sanctuary as a gate that led from the industrial quarter of the City, once a suburb, into the Temple area, near the present Bab el Kattanin, but this is irreconcilable with Nehemiah's data, and the only reason for it appears to be the author's location of Bethesda in the Hammdm esh Shell, for which we have already seen there is no evidence.



northern slope of the Temple summit above the ravine into the Kidron, the most natural line for the wall to take westwards from them would either be over the *col* between the Temple summit and Antonia, or else round the rock on which the latter stands, and across the other *col* to the north." The statement of Josephus that the Second Wall started from Antonia favours the second alternative. In that- case the two *Towers, Hanzmeak* and *Ifanane'-el,* the next features on Nehemiah's wall after the Sheep Gate, would stand on the rock on which Antonia stood, north-west from the Sheep Gate. This relative position suits the other Biblical references to them. In Zechariah xiv. to, the north and south extent of the City is given from the *tower of Ifanane'-el unto the king's wine presses* (probably at Siloam) ; while the east and west extension is given as *from the gate of Bezzjamin,* probably identical with the Sheep Gate, *to the place of the First Gate,* near the northwest corner of the City ; similarly in Jeremiah xxxi. 38, as *from the tower of Ifanane'-el* to the *Gate of the Corner,* another name for the First Gate. From Hanane'-el the wall would dip and cross the Tyropceon, on the road down the bed of which we most naturally seek for the site of its next feature, *the Fisk Gate.*[2] The references given below explain this name as due to the Tyrians, who sold dried fish, and found their nearest market or entrance to the City on the north ;[3] and associate it with the *Mishneh* or *Second City,* most intelligible as the name of the northern suburb, and with the *Maktesh,* or *Mortar,* a term which

See above, 1). 34.

D7'07 13)e) Neh. iii. 3, xii. 39, Zeph. i. to, z anon. xxxiii. 14; cf. fur the name, Nehemiah xiii. 16.

a See below, Bk. ii. ch. v., on Imports.

suggests the shape of the northern Tyropceon. The Fish Gate thus corresponded to the modern Damascus Gate, opening on the same natural line of road down the Tyropceon, but further south : it is impossible to fix the exact position. The next gate westward is stated on Nehemiah's line, only after a considerable interval. This is unfortunate, for the stretch between these gates is precisely that portion of the wall, upon the exact line of which the most serious topographical questions depend. The Gate is called (as the text stands) by the puzzling name of *Gate of the Yeshanah,*[1] that is (if the latter word be really what it seems, a feminine adjective meaning *old), the Gate of the Old . . .(?)* It is usually translated *The Old Gate,* but the genitive construction forbids this. Various proposals to supply a noun have been made :[2] *the Old City* or *Wall* or *Pool;* and in supporting this last, Dr. Mitchell argues for its identification with the Pool of Hezekiah or the Patriarch's Bath.[3] One is tempted, by change of a single consonant to emend *Yeshanah* to *Mishneh,* and to read *Gate of the Second City,* the earliest northern suburb. This Gate has been identified with the Corner Gate and the First Gate.[4] If so, it stood near the north-west corner of the City, and we now turn down the western stretch of the wall. The next landmark mentioned in the course of the procession (but not in that of the rebuilding of

rV!r3 Neh. iii. 6, xii. 39.

[2] Schultz ; Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* 1972, suggests this as the original of Hassenaah, ntcon

[3] *O. Cit.* 134. On the Pool, see above, p. 114. As we have seen, the Old Pool was more probably the Lower Pool of Siloam.

Mem iyo) 2 Ki. xiv. 13, tiv)N-In 13/_,j Zech. xiv. so. W. R. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2424; W. F. Birch, *P.E.F.Q.,* 1879, 177.

the walls) is the well-known *Gate of Ephraim,* which was 400 cubits, about boo feet (or 183 m.) from the Corner Gate. That this Gate is not given in the line of the rebuilt wall, and that a slightly different preposition is used for its relation to the passage of the procession from that used of the gates common to the procession and the rebuilding, induces one to suppose that the gate was not on the line of Nehemiah's wall, but below this on an inner and lower wall. And, in fact, a Gate of Ephraim was in existence on the first north wall before Hezekiah's to whom, as we have seen, the second of the north walls is attributed. The Gate of Ephraim is usually placed a little to the south-east of the present Jaffa Gate ; but one expects a gate with such a name to have stood further east, on the line of street running east of the Muristan to the Damascus Gate, or on the other line of street thither up the Tyropceon, in either case corresponding to the present Ephraim Gate of the City, and in the latter case representing on the First or inmost wall the Fish Gate of the Second Wall. The former alternative is the more probable. In the account of the rebuilding the next point after the Corner Gate is *the Broad Wall,* about which many conjectures have been made. A most natural one is that its unusual thickness was due to the outward ascent of the ground at the north-east corner.[2] But another cause may have been the overlapping of the First and Second Walls for some distance, and the sub-Sequent filling up with masonry of the space between them. It is also possible that the name is a corruption of the *Wall of the Broad Place,* such as lay by the Gate

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 13 ; 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

[2] Stade, *Gesch. ii.* 167.

of Ephraim.' The last landmark on the west stretch of wall, before the Gate of the Gal is reached, is the *Tower of the Furnaces* or *Ovens*,[2] so called, perhaps, because the Bazaar of the Bakers, mentioned by Jeremiah, was situated there.[3]

Thus we return to our starting-point at the Gate of the Gal, having completed our circuit of the pre-exilic wall which Nehemiah restored. Except for the manner in which the Gate of Ephraim is introduced, we have found no recognition of anything but a single wall. But the course which his accounts indicate for the northern stretch of the wall appears to have followed the line, not of the First Wall of Josephus on the northern slope of the South-west Hill, the earliest rampart of Jerusalem to the north, but rather the line of the Second Wall of Josephus, which curved from Antonia to the Gate Genath, somewhere near the present Jaffa Gate.

The North Wall of Nehemiah = the Second Wall of Josephus.

Such, then, is the course of the Pre-Exilic Wall which Nehemiah restored. It would be vain to attempt to determine exactly the various modifications of line and structure which it had received under the kings of Judah from Solomon to the Exile, partly because we may be sure that we have the reports of only some of these, and partly because what is reported is either vague or has come down to us in dilapidated texts. Still, for the sake of completing this history of the ancient walls of Jerusalem, we may

The Walls from Solomon to Manasseh.

[1] So the Vulgate of Neh. iii. 8. Cf. Neh. viii. 56. St. Clair, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1889, 99. Broad wall = rtarnri minr

[2] tit-mnri

[3] Jer. xxxvii. 21. See below, Bk. iii., on Jeremiah. On the custom of sending the domestic dough to be fired at the bakers' ovens, see below, Bk. ii. ch, viii.

here give a list of the buildings, destructions and rebuildings of the City walls between Solomon and the Exile. Solomon himself is said to have built *the wall of Jerusalem round about?* On the ground that *Jerusalem* is distinct from David's-Burgh, and that the latter lay on the East. Hill, Dr. Guthe holds that no other position is left for *Jerusalem* except the South-west Hill, and that it must have been this which Solomon in whole or in part enclosed, as Josephus asserts.[2] But while David's-Burgh was indeed an entity distinct from Jerusalem, it was a citadel and not a town,[3] and, as we have seen, there was room on the East Hill for the town to lie below and round it. There is no evidence that the name Jerusalem was confined to the South-west Hill, either in Solomon's or any other period ; and the statement of Josephus, that David and Solomon surrounded the whole of the South-west Hill, cannot be taken as conclusive. At the same time, as we shall see when we come to deal with Solomon's reign, it is probable that the great increase of the population which his policy effected involved an extension of Jerusalem from the East to the South-west Hill ; and it is also possible that Solomon's wall enclosed this extension. But how great the extension was, or what line the wall took, round or across the Hill, are questions we have no means of answering ; and it may be doubted whether Josephus was any better informed. in that state of uncertainty, we must leave the question of

[1] 1 Kings iii. 1 ; cf. ix. 15.

[2] Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 678, lines 40 ff. ; Jos. *v. B.J.* iv. 2. This view has, of course, been frequently and, in fact, generally taken. Cf. Wilson in Smith's *D.B.*

[3] Above, p. 155. Also 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 distinguishes it from the rest of Ophel.

Solomon's wall round Jerusalem.' The next great building period in the pre-exilic history of the City was the eighth century ; during which the commerce and wealth of Judea rapidly increased, the literature abounds in reports of architectural enterprise, and metaphors drawn from building became frequent in the prophets. Moreover Israel's widened horizon then included a knowledge of the military architecture of the Phoenicians and Assyrians ;[2] and we have in the Siloam tunnel an example of the engineering ambitions and resources of the Judean kings.[3] About 79o, Joash of Israel, attacking Jerusalem from the north, broke down *four hundred cubits of the wall from the Gate of Ephraim to the Gate of the Corner.*[4] This was, of course, upon the earliest and most southerly of the three northern walls of Josephus. On this face of the City, then, a wall was already standing, probably since Solomon's time. Of the next King, Uzziah *(circa* 780-740 B.C.) the Chronicler[5] reports that *he built towers in Jerusalem, over the Gate of the Corner and over the Gate of the Gai, and over the angle* or *turning* of the wall *and fortified them.* As explained below,[6] this notice is credible both from the great increase in building which distinguished Uzziah's reign, and from the development which military architecture had achieved by this period throughout western Asia. The Palestine fortresses, attacked by the Assyrians in the eighth and ninth centuries, are represented as polygonal, sometimes with double or even treble walls, but their main feature is the tower projecting from the wall We cannot think that the Jerusalem of Uzziah was any

The question of what and where the Millo was, we must reserve for the History.

[2] *See* below, Bk. iii., under Uzziah.

[3] See above, p. 93.

[4] 2 Ki. xiv. 8-14, from an Israelite document.

[6] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

[6] See below, Bk, iii., under Uzziah.

less strongly or finely fortified than, for example, Lachish, of whose walls we have an Assyrian picture in the eighth century. The Chronicler tells us that the next king, Jotham, *built much on the wall of the 'Ophel.'* Ahaz also attended to the defences of the City ;[2] and we have seen already what Hezekiah did for these, including (the Chronicler states) the building of an outer wall—he *built all the wall which had been breached and raised upon it towers, and to the outside another* walla—which is generally, but perhaps too easily, assumed to be the Second Wall of Josephus round the first northerly extension of the City ; the northern stretch of Nehemiah's wall. As the walls of Jerusalem under Ahaz resisted the attempt of the Arameans, so, after their strengthening by Hezekiah, they resisted, alone among all the cities of Judah and the coast, the blockade of the Assyrians. Even more important for our present purpose is the proof which Hezekiah's tunnel and pool afford, that by his time the wall encompassed the whole of the South-west Hill. It would have been vain for him to bring the water of Gihon beneath Ophel to a pool in the mouth of the Tyropceon, in order to secure it for the use of the City in times of siege, if the South-west Hill had been wholly or partially open to the besiegers ; for, under the conditions of ancient warfare, that hill commands the pool at the mouth of the Tunnel. By the eighth century then the South-west Hill and the mouth of the Tyropceon was all enclosed within a wall ; and it is just possible that this is the *other outside wall* which the Chronicler's tradition assigns to Hezekiah himself. We must keep in view such an alternative to the

[1] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

[2] Isaiah vii. 2 ff., xxii. 8-11.

8 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

theory which identifies it with the Second Wall of Josephus. Finally, in the seventh century, Manasseh *(circa* 685-640), according to the Chronicler, *built an outer wall to the David's-Burgh, on the west of Gihon in the Nahal, even on to the entry of the Fish-Gate, and he compassed the 'Ophel, and made it very high?* This can only mean that outside the existing rampart of the Citadel, on the ridge above the present Virgin's *Spring,* Manasseh constructed another line of fortification which he carried northwards past the Temple Mount, and round its northern slope to the Sheep Gate.[2] These are all the reports, sometimes vague sometimes definite, that we have of those walls of Jerusalem ; which were gradually developed from David to Manasseh ; which Nebuchadrezzar destroyed, and which Nehemiah rebuilt.

Such is the literary evidence for the walls of Jerusalem between the time of David and that of Herod and of the reports of Josephus. Some definite conclusions may be drawn from it : that before the eighth century, nothing beyond Ophel is certain as to the course of the walls ; that by the eighth century the whole of the South-west Hill and the mouth of the Tyropceon were enclosed ; that by the Exile the wall, with perhaps an outer and inner line, ran up the edge of Kidron past the Temple Mount, and turned east up the tributary ravine to the north of the latter ; that probably two walls protected the north face of the City, one the earliest, which there is no reason for denying to Solomon, from the western Temple wall up the north slope of the South-west Hill ; and the other further north, probably from the rock on which Antonia afterwards stood, to join

Conclusions from the Literary or Historical Evidence.

'3. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

[2] See above, p. 200.

the inner wall somewhere east of the present Jaffa Gate : the course which Nehemiah followed in his rebuilding of a *single* line of wall round the city. Besides this, *the Ophel, the swelling* on which Sion or David's-Burgh stood, had been encompassed with a wall of its own from the earliest times, the north stretch of which, across the ridge between David's-Burgh and the Temple Mount, was probably *the wall of the'* Ophehnentioned by Nehemiah; while Manasseh built an outer wall to *the Ophel* and continued it to the Fish-Gate. But besides affording these more or less definite data, the literary evidence reminds us no less by the length of time over which it stretches than by the large number of thorough or partial destructions of the City walls which it records, that their repair and reconstruction were very frequent if not almost constant, and that the masonry of earlier generations must have been employed by their successors, till in parts an inextricable mixture of styles of stone-dressing and building must have resulted. The rapidity with which Nehemiah accomplished his reconstruction is evidence that he used the squared stones of the older walls. Dr. Schick thinks it improbable that he used mortar;' yet some of his technical expressions seem to point to this.[2]

4. THE EVIDENCE OF THE EXCAVATIONS.

With all this literary evidence before us, and these conclusions from it, we pass to an examination of the archwological evidence uncovered so profusely and yet so partially by recent excavation : keeping especially

[1] *Z. .1'. V. xvii. 78.*

[2] See below, Bk. HI., under Nehemiah.

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in mind the last warning that, after so long and troubled a history as the walls have passed through, it will be extremely difficult, to say the least, to determine the different styles in their remains, and to assign them to different sections of our period. Sir Charles Warren, the first of the excavators, writes : The stones in the south wall are probably not *in situ,* nor, I think, are those of the Ophel wall : that is to say, they appear to be stones used in the building of a previous wall.'[1] And the same authority warns us of another difficulty in reaching the archaeological facts : As the earth about here [Ophel] only covers the rock to a depth of from twelve to fifteen feet, it is possible that the wanting portion of the wall may have been taken up and sold for building stone by the fellahin who at the present day frequently go down to that depth in search of cut stone. Cut stone in Jerusalem is much in demand, and in the grounds of the fellahin all traces of wall at or near the surface are fast disappearing. The rock-cut steps and caves which existed along the slopes of Ophel are also fast becoming obliterated ; the farmers find that these are the places where they have least trouble in blasting and quarrying the rock, and within the last few years many old features on the southern side of the old city have vanished ; thus year by year the old Jerusalem will become more difficult to be understood.[12] But these processes of change and obliteration have been at work for nearly three thousand years since Solomon *built the wall ofJr erusalem round about.*

Their bearing on the archaeological evidence.

Another necessary warning.

Recovery of Jerusalem, 300. Dr. Bliss, too, gives several instances of the same.

Recovery of Jerusalem, 298. Cf. Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 22,* 118, 120, 186.

The archeological evidence as to the walls has been provided by the excavators of the last forty years. Though not a few valuable observations had been made above-ground by earlier scholars and engineers,' the necessary basis of the work discoveries. was first accurately laid down by Captain, afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir, Charles Wilson of the Royal Engineers, in his ordnance survey of the City's site, buildings, and surroundings.[2] The area of this survey was surveyed and drawn on the same scale and with the same accuracy as the cadastral or parish plans of

List of excavations and

As the result of *a* visit to Jerusalem and careful examination in 1833, Catherwood made a plan of the Karam area, which, except for an error at the north-west angle made in joining his detached sketches, is, according to Wilson *(Recovery of Jerusalem,* 30), s minutely accurate.' Among several others, a list of which is given in *Recovery offerusalenz,* 30, we may mention here Robinson's and Barclay's, both of 1856, and Van de Velde's, of 1858, with memoir by Tobler. Robinson on his first visit discovered the ancient arch, since known by his name, and the remains of apparently a wall to the north of the present city. Barclay discovered an ancient gate, since known by his name, north of Robinson's arch. Signor Erm. Pierotti, employed by the native authorities as architect and engineer, was able between the years 1854 and 1862 to make a number of investigations into the remains of the ancient city, the results of 'which are given in two volumes, one of text and one of plates, entitled *Jerusalem Explored,* translated by T. G. Bonney, London, 1864. This work contains valuable observations and suggestions, but its data require to be used with great discrimination (cf. *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 30 E, Wilson's criticisms ; 204 f., Warren's—both severe).

[2] *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 1871, 3-32 ; *P.E.F. Memoir, Jerusalem,* by Warren and Conder, 1884; with portfolio of *Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc., of Excavations at Jerusalem, 1867-70,* by Warren. The original plans were :—*Plan efferusalem, etc.,* 1/2500, or 6'33 inches to the mile ; *Plan ofJerusalem, witIEStreets, Buildings, and Contours,* 1/500, or 25'34 inches to a mile ; *Plans Haraot esh Sherif, wills Cisterns, Vaults, and Contours,* 1/240, or to•56 feet to a *mile; Plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Dome of the Rock,* 1/100; *Plans of the Citadel, etc.,* 1/96. In 1900 there was also published by the Palestine Exploration Fund *Plan of* *reduced by permission from the Ordnance Plan,* 1/500 scale, *made by Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., etc., to illustrate recent discoveries,* from which the plan in this volume, by kind permission of the Committee of the Fund, has been prepared.

England.' Captain Wilson also began excavations, and by the Bab es-Silsile discovered the arch which now bears his name. From 1867 to 1870 the first prolonged excavations were made by Captain, now Lieutenant-General Sir, Charles Warren, R.E., chiefly round the walls of the Haram and on Ophel, partly also on the South-west Hill and at numerous points in and around the City, with a view of determining the rock-contours.' From 1872 to 1875 Lieutenant, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Conder, conducted further explorations in and around the City.[2] In 1875 Mr. Henry Maudslay, an English engineer, discovered and examined the Great Scarp, since known by his name, and other scarps and rock-cuttings on the edge of the Wady er-Rababi, west of the Coenaculum.[3] In 188i Dr., now Professor, Hermann Guthe conducted excavations of considerable extent upon Ophe1.[4] From 1894 to 1897 Dr. F. J. Bliss, along with the architect, Mr. A. C. Dickie, excavated from Maudslay's Scarp round the edge of the South-west Hill, and in various lines across the Hill, also across the mouth of the Tyropceon round Siloam, on the southern end of Ophel, and for some distance up the Tyropceon.[5] To all these it is necessary to add the many observations and measurements made during the last thirty or forty years by various residents

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 35.329 ; *P.E. F. Memoir, Jerusalem ; with Plans,* etc., in the *P.E.F.* portfolio. Cf. *Underground Jerusalem.*

[6] *P.E.F. Memoir, Jerusalem ; Tent-Work in Palestine ;* art. ' Jerusalem ' in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible,* and other works.

[3] For accounts of this see Conder's article The Rock Scarp of Zion,' *P.E.F.Q.,* 1875, 8r ff. ; and Bliss, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1 ff.*

[4] *Z.D.P.V., V.* 1882, 7-204, 271-378, republished under the title of *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem,* 1883.

Excavations at Jerusalem 1894-1897, by Bliss and Dickie, 1898. For the quarterly reports on which this volume is founded see *P. E. F. Q.,* 1894-1898.

in Jerusalem, and among them to mention especially the work of the late Baurath Schick, and that of Consul Merrill, both of which have been extremely valuable with respect in particular to the course of the north walls.' M. Clermont-Ganneau's *Archeological Researches*[2] must also be consulted. Filially, the ancient remains discovered are marked on the plan reduced by the Palestine Exploration Fund from Sir Charles Wilson's ordnance survey ;[3] and on Herr A. Kuemmel's map to his *Materials Jor the Topography of Ancient Jerusalem,* in the text of which detailed accounts are given.'

Upon our survey of the remains of walls or scarps discovered in the course of all these systematic operations and scattered observations, it will be most convenient to start where we started for our circuit of Nehemiah's wall, about the south-west angle of the city, yet so as to include in our beginning Maudslay's Scarp, .a little to the north of Nehemiah's Gate of the Gat. From a point 100 feet (30·5 m.) north of Bishop Gobat's School this great scarp was traced south, with one small projection, to the school, which is built over a second

Maudslay's Scarp.

For Schick's long and patient work, valuable as that of a trained architect familiar with the literature, and resident for a long time in the city, see numerous papers in the *P. E. F.Q.* and *Z. D. P. V.,* particularly in the latter, viii. 245 ff. : Die Zweite Mauer Jerusalems,' etc. (by Schick and Guthe), adv. 41 ff. : ' Nehemiah's Mauerbau,' and xvi.-xviii. : Die Baugeschichte der Staudt Jerusalem.' Consul Merrill's valuable experience and observations of any years, so generously communicated to visitors to the city, will also be found in numerous contributions to the *P.E. F.*Q. as well as the *Biblical World,* and are eagerly expected in fuller form in his forthcoming work on Jerusalem.

[2] London, *P.E.F.,* 1899, vol. i.

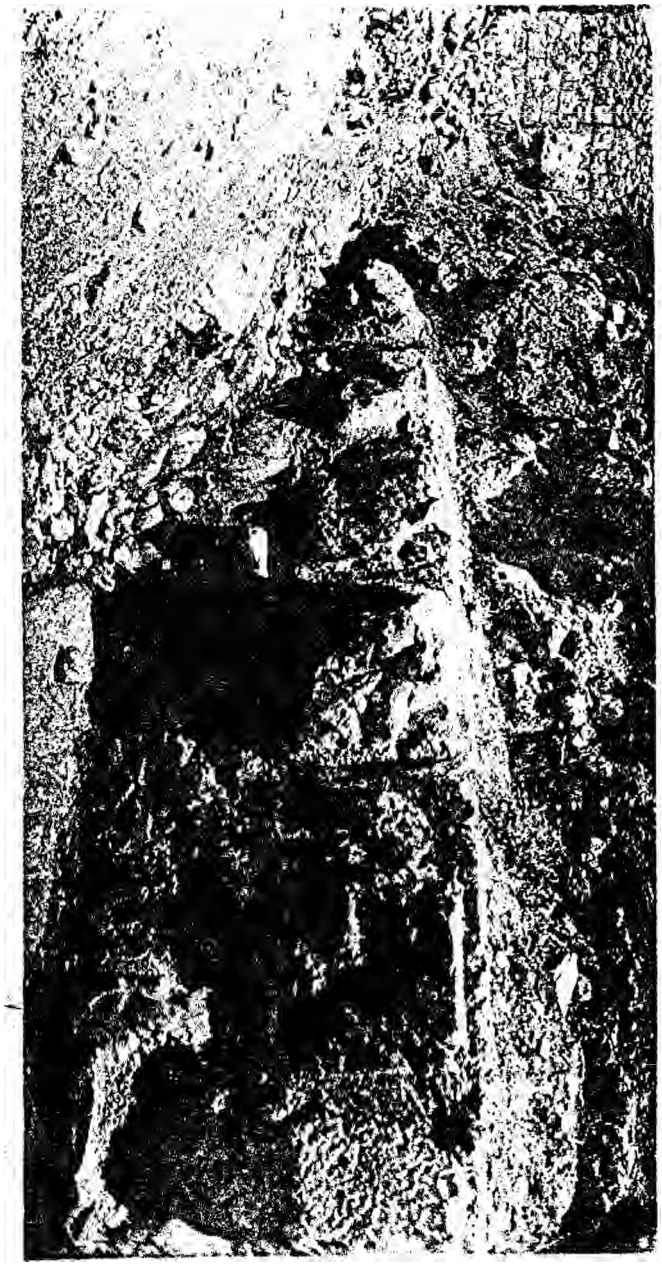
[3] See above, p. **211 *n.* 2.**

[4] *Afalerialien zur Topgr. des alien Jerusalem,* by August Rummel ; Halle, 1906. The map is on the scale of

[6] The scarp probably continues farther north than this point.

and larger projection of the scarp, 45 feet square and 20 feet high. Thence it runs south-east, with one projection, above the school garden and cemetery to the end of the latter, where, with outside steps leading up to it, another great rock-projection occurs, the face of which is some 43 feet long. For at least a third of its length, and presumably throughout its whole extent, the great scarp is a parapet of rock, in places 4o feet high on the outside and at least 14 feet within.'[1] No masonry appears to have been found *in situ* along the top of the scarp ; but if, as is probable, a wall once ran along the latter, the result, as Colonel Conder justly says, must have been a splendid and impregnable fortification which might well defy any attempt to take Jerusalem from the south.' Parts of an outer scarp on a line running parallel to Maudslay's were uncovered by Dr. Bliss. Dr. Bliss began his excavations on the projection of Maudslay's Scarp at the south end of the cemetery. He found this to be the rock-base of a great tower, several courses of whose masonry are *in situ.* The stones, varying in length from 2 feet 10 inches (·86 m.) to 4 feet 8 inches (1.42 m.), and from 27 to 28 inches high (·68 to ·71 m.), have great bosses and long deep-set margins or drafts with the pock-mark dressing,' a style which (as we have seen) prevails from the earliest to a late age in Jerusalem. Outside were found fallen stones of the same style, but also others with the diagonal fine comb-pick dressing of crusading work.' On the rock-base of the tower the pottery points to early times.' Now, instead of finding the scarp to continue south-east from the tower on the edge of the Hill, as from its previous line Dr. Bliss naturally expected it to do, he discovered a

1 *P.E.F.Q.*, 1875, 84.



deep rock-cut fosse on the south-west of the tower turning round its south-east face and crossing the back of the Hill in a north-easterly direction. On the north side of this fosse a scarp runs on from the tower, on its south side a lower counter-scarp. It has been suggested that this fosse was originally a rock-hewn road, with a gate, therefore, at the tower. But, however this may have been, it is clear that at some period the strong line of defence marked by Maudslay's Scarp turned at the tower north-east across the back of the

Having sufficiently ascertained that direction of the fosse, Dr. Bliss started upon those excavations round the edge of the Hill which resulted in his great discovery of two lines of wall. From the fosse, one of those lines, 9 feet thick of fine masonry on a rubble base, runs south-east 105 feet (32 m.) to the Gate described above.' The fine masonry is of stones from one foot to three in size, well set in lime, ' smooth-faced, without margins and dressed with the comb-pick.' The Gate has four superimposed sills of four different periods, of which the highest is 8 feet wide (2.44 m.) and the three lower 8 feet io inches (2·89 m.) : ' the smooth-faced masonry described above was characteristic of the wall during the four gate periods '; below the pavement leading to the highest sill was a pilaster with a Roman *graffito.* From the Gate a drain and street ran into the City north-eastwards. From the Gate the wall continues for 31 feet (9.45 m.), in two styles of smooth-faced masonry resting on rough-dressed work, to a tower, which shows these to belong to two periods. From this tower, its

The south-west Wall.

For above details see *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 4-14.

[2] r.577. -

extreme south - west angle, the line of wall sets in the direction of Siloam, its extreme south-east angle, down to which it was traced by Dr. Bliss, except where it passes under the Jewish cemetery. Like the tower above mentioned, the wall consists of two distinct and separate constructions, one above the other, and often with a thick layer of *debris* between them. The upper wall, sometimes resting on this *debris*, sometimes on the lower wall, and of smooth-faced masonry, belongs to the gate of the four sills, representing four different periods. It was, therefore, a wall of long standing ; the upper sill, from the remains below it, is clearly post-Roman ; and it may be inferred from the sameness of the masonry in the gateway and upper wall throughout that the whole of both belong to the Christian era. Dr. Bliss reasonably, therefore, takes them to be the remains of the wall of the Empress Eudocia.[1] Unfortunately, the remains cease some 30o feet (about 91 m.) west of the Jewish cemetery. The thick *debris* below them is the record of a time when no city wall existed here, which condition suits the age between the destruction by Titus and the wall of Eudocia.[2] In the lower wall, always resting on the rock and running the whole way to the south-east corner of the City, Dr. Bliss detected three systems of construction. The earliest is of stones with broad margins, carefully comb-picked, while the centres are pick-dressed, without mortar, but with jointing so close that a pin-point can hardly be inserted.' Bonded into this is the masonry of a later period of lower courses, rough and with different kinds of dressed stones, some of which have evidently been borrowed from the earlier system. And there is a

1 See above, p. 186.

[2] Above, pp. 185 f.

third period in which (if I understand Dr. Bliss aright) occur the fragments which he found, `of Graco-Jewish mouldings, like those in the Hasmonean monuments in the 1.idron valley.'[1]

This lower line Dr. Bliss takes to be the wall which Titus destroyed, and the patch-work in which the Graco-Jewish mouldings occur, to represent some of the latest repairs on that wall during the Hasmonean and Herodian or Roman periods.[2] No one familiar with the literature of excavation can fail to feel that Dr. Bliss's methods of work on this line of wall were as thorough, or that his reasoning so far on the question of dates is as convincing, as any in the whole range of the literature; especially if one has had the good fortune to examine any of the discoveries for himself. But to go behind this general conclusion and to seek to determine the dates of the earlier systems of construction which the wall contains is precarious. To which of the many repairs of the wall between Nehemiah and the Hasmoneans,[3] that we have found reported, are we to assign the lower courses of rough masonry containing older stones of several styles : Dr. Bliss's second system ? It is impossible to answer. It ought to be less difficult to ascertain the date of the exquisitely dressed and jointed masonry' of his first system. This must belong to one of the few epochs of original and massive building in Jerusalem. The Herodian is excluded. There remain those of Solomon's reign and the Eighth Century B.C.[4] Dr. Bliss discusses the following alternatives for the earliest of the three

Date of the lower south-west Wall and Maudslay's Scarp.

l *Fur* all these details, see *Excavations al Jerusalem, 14-47,* and 314.

[2] *Ibid.* 359.

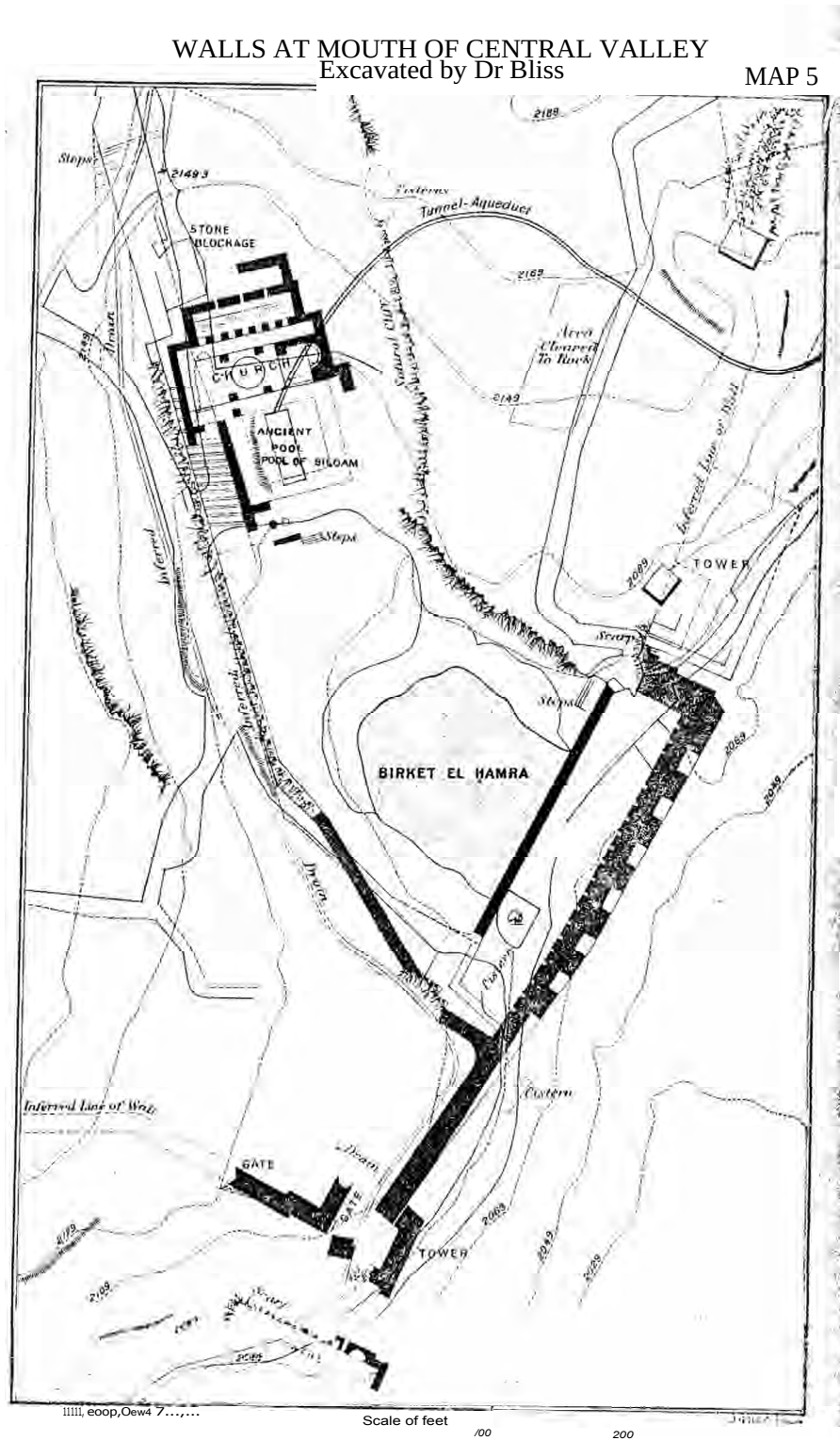
[3] See above, pp: 194 ff.

[4] **See** above, pp. **204**

systems in the wall, along with the question of Maudslay's Scarp, and its turn at the great tower to the north-east across the Hill. If the lower wall be the later, then the rock-base of the tower, he thinks, will represent the south-west angle of the City in Solomon's time, in which case this king's wall did not enclose the whole of the South-west Hill. If the lower wall be contemporaneous with the Scarp, the latter represents a citadel on the line of the City wall with a fosse partly within and partly without the City. The want of connection between the wall and the Scarp would probably be due to the builders of the thirteenth Christian century, who ran a wall across the Hill north of the Coenaculum, to which wall the stones with the Crusading dressing found on the fosse would belong. That Maudslay's Scarp is later than the lower wall, Dr. Bliss thinks impossible, because Hadrian's wall was farther to the north, and there is no other period to which so magnificent a fortification as the Scarp could be assigned after the date of Titus. To Dr. Bliss's argument I have only this to add—that, as we have seen that the South-west Hill and Siloam [1] must haye been enclosed within the City wall by the eighth century, the oldest masonry in Dr. Bliss's lower wall is probably at the latest of that date. Whether we can carry it or Maudslay's Scarp back to Solomon,[2] it is impossible in my judgment to say. A line of wall which Dr. Bliss discovered on the South-west Hill east of the Ccenaculum he assigns, because of its Byzantine moulding and its agreement with the line of the south wall of the City upon Marino Sanuto's map (1321 A.D.), to the thirteenth Christian century.

[1] See above, p. 207.

[2] So Dr. Bliss, P. 334.



We turn now to the difficult complex of walls discovered round the south-east angle of the ancient City, and across and in the mouth of the Tyropceon.

South-east Angle of the Ancient Wall.

We have seen that Dr. Bliss traced the lower and more ancient south wall along the edge of Hinnom all the way (except under the Jewish cemetery) to the south-east angle of the ancient City. About 150 feet (46 m.) before this angle is reached by the wall, there opens in the latter a little gate which it would be tempting to identify with Nehemiah's Dung-Gate, but that Dr. Bliss considers it too small to have been an exterior gate of the city,'[1] Close to the south-east angle (due south from the Pool of Siloam), Dr. Bliss uncovered a more massive gateway, which, both from its posifton and construction, must have been for long one of the great gates of Jerusalem. It lies at the end of a branch of the main street up and down the Tyropceon, and beneath it the great Tyropceon drain leaves the City. The construction, with three different sills, represents three periods. The earliest Dr. Bliss takes to be that of the Jewish kings, and the Gate itself to be Nehemiah's *Cate of the Fountain* or *Spring*.[2] The second period he judges was that of Eudocia's wall, whose builders, since their characteristic masonry[3] is lacking in the gateway, must have used here the masonry of the ancient Jewish wall .[4] The third period, according to him, is also of the Eudocian wall, which, he infers from Bede, ' lasted till the eighth Christian century .[5] Dr. Mitchell

[1] *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 87 f. This small gate is omitted both by Mitchell, *op, cit.,* and on Kuemmel's map.

[2] Perhaps.' Kuemmel, *Materialien,* etc., **72.**

[3] See above, p. 216.

[4] Alternatively their masonry here has been wholly destroyed.

[5] *.Excavations at Jerusalem,* 327 *f.*

identifies the Gate as Nehemiah's Dung - Gate, on the grounds that it lies at the mouth of the Tyropceon, further up which the present Dung-Gate opens, and that the ancient drain runs beneath it." To protect the Gate, a tower was added in both of the last two periods, and formed the precise south-east angle of the wall.

Ancient Walls across the mouth of the Tyropceon.

From this tower Dr. Bliss followed the wall north-east across the mouth of the Tyropceon to the toe of the East Hill.[2] It runs nearly parallel to the line of the present dam of the Birket el-Hamra, but some 5o feet (over 15 m.) to the east, and at its north end, turns round a tower or corner buttress north-west to the line of the darn. Originally this wall was 8 or 9 feet (2·44 to 274 m.) thick, but besides the corner buttress it had six others which added to its thickness 11 feet (3.35 m.). After being ruined it was rebuilt flush with the face of the buttresses, and later still a rough supporting wall was constructed against the front of it. The many buttresses, unnecessary for military purposes ; the subsequent filling of the spaces between them ; and the supporting wall, prove that this stretch of wall across the mouth of the Tyropceon served also as a darn to the Pool. Indeed, Dr. Bliss found not only that the original wall had burst or bulged from internal pressure, but that there are signs of the action of the water even on the outside supports.[3] The Pool, therefore, extended at

[1] *op.* cit. 224. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.*, viii. 679, lines 24 f., contents himself with stating that the Dung-Gate was in this region, and that here Dr. Bliss uncovered a gate.

[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 96-115.

[3] *Ibid.* 201, **205** f. along with Plate xii., shaft **K2** (signs of bulging and wrenching) ; ro6 f., 225 (signs of action of water on exterior wall).

one time 5o feet (15 m.) east of the present dam. But Dr. Bliss also discovered what some previous excavations by Dr. Guthe had rendered probable, that at another time the wall had crossed the valley on the line of the present dam, and that after it had reached the toe of the East Hill a tower (of two periods) had projected from it over the Kidron valley. The result is to prove that at many different periods—Dr. Bliss thinks five—the main city wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropceon *below* both the Pools of the Siloam. That it was a city wall and not merely a dam is proved by the convergence of all its lines upon the scarp at the toe of the East Hill, from which it continued up the edge of the latter. In none of these lines was any indication of a gate discovered. No gate was possible, of course, opposite the Pool. South of this Dr. Bliss found the wall continuous, though after a study of his and Dr. Guthe's excavations at this point of the South-west Hill I am not prepared to *say* a gate never existed here. On the north of the Tyropceon, where the presence of the tower (of the two periods) might lead us to suppose a gate, and where Dr. Mitchell would place the Fountain-Gate,' nothing of a gateway was seen. It is true that the remains here are much ruined and mixed, but the high, stepped scarp, which exists on the toe of the East Hill, just where Dr. Mitchell would place the Fountain-Gate, seems, with Dr. Bliss's description, to preclude all possibility of a gate.[2]

These massive city walls of various periods across the mouth of the Tyropceon were, however, not the only ancient walls in this region. Just where the outer line

Op. cit. 226, and plan on p. 262.

[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem, 108 fF* with Plan xiii.

leaves the South-west Hill, about 130 feet (over 39 m.) from the tower at the south-east angle, Dr. Bliss found another wall at right angles to the outer one, and traced it, wall and scarp, north-west up the edge of the South-west Hill above the Tyropceon, and therefore on the west of the two pools of Siloam, to a point above the upper Pool. From here it remains undecided whether the wall continued in the same direction, and was therefore part of a wall encom passing the South-west Hill, or whether (as Dr. Bliss thinks) it struck east above the Upper Pool to Ophel. If this was ever an exterior city wall, it left the two Pools outside. In parts it is Io feet thick, but Dr. Bliss says it may have been only an interior wall. Unfortunately the remains have been recently much removed by the fellahin, and except for the stepped scarps the line of it may soon vanish.

Ancient Wall up the West of the Tyropceon.

The attempt to identify all these remains of walls in and about the mouth of the Tyropceon is not one which we can hope to make successful. All we can say with certainty is that the City wall after turning its south-east angle, where there was always an important gate, crossed at many periods, if not all, of its history the mouth of the Tyropceon so as to include the two pools, and then ran (as we shall see) right up the east edge of Ophel above the Kidron. And it is at least reasonable to hold that the original wall with six buttresses across the Tyropceon existed in Hezekiah's day, because unless the mouth of the Tyropceon was then enclosed there would have been no object in

Attempts to identify all these Was.

Excavations at Jerusalem, 116426. Dr. Bliss was here following previous excavations by Dr. Guthe and Herr Schick.

bringing the waters of Gihon under Ophel to a pool in the mouth of the Tyropceon in order to secure them from besiegers. In this case it is natural to take the gate of the south-east angle as the Fountain-Gate, a position which does not disagree with Nehemiah's data,' and to suppose that the Dung-Gate opened upon Hinnom further up the south wall, where the line of this was not excavated by Dr. Bliss. I admit, however, that the position of the Fountain-Gate is not certain. Yet we seem shut up to its identification with the gate at the angle by the absence of any trace of a gateway on the wall across the Tyropceon, unless one opened on the south of the latter.[2] There remains the question of the wall up the Tyropceon and its relation to the wall across. Was that wall up the Tyropceon ever an exterior City wall built whcn the wall across was in ruin, so as to leave outside the two Pools which the latter had included ? Dr. Bliss thinks it was, and takes it as the line of the City wall in the times of Herod and Josephus.[3] In the latter's description of that line, on which Dr. Bliss founds his argument,[4] the data are not quite clear, and in fact except for one proposition, *above* the fountain Siloa,' on which it would be unwise to build a great argument, they suit both a line which includes and a line which excludes Siloam. But putting that passage aside, I do not think that another passage--in the exhortation which josephus claims to have made to the Jews to surrender to Titus—can be interpreted except as meaning that the spring of Siloam (as the issue of the waters from

[1] Above, p. 197. [2] Above, p. 221.
[3] *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 326, 335 ; Plate xxix. No. 3.
[4] JOS. V. *13.J* iv. 2.

the tunnel into the pool is still called by the Arabs) lay outside the walls. He says : For Titus those springs run more plentifully, which before were for you dried up ; you know that Siloa failed and all the springs outside the city, so that water was sold by the jar, but now they so abound for your enemies that they are sufficient not only for themselves and their cattle but for their gardens.' [1] Assuming that this sentence means that Siloam, as well as all the springs outside the city,' was available for the Romans, and therefore like them *extra mums,* we have to ask, is it correct ? In reply we have already seen that it is contradicted by the testimony 'of Strabo, Dion Cassius, and others ;[2] and I may now add that Josephus himself elsewhere implies that Siloam lay within the walls under command of the besieged, for he says that Simon, one of their leaders, held, along with other parts of Jerusalem, as much of th6 old wall as bent from Siloam to the east[3] ... and he also held the fountain.'[4] According to this, then, Siloam *was* within the wall at the time of the siege.[5] There is further the following consideration. As it would have been unnatural in the time of Hezekiah to leave the one running water of the district outside the wall, so also in the days of Herod and Josephus, especially when it was so much easier to carry the wall across the mouth of the Tyropceon on the old foundations than to carry it up the Tyropceon, round the spring and down again to the toe of the East Hill. On these grounds, then, we may, in opposition to Dr. Bliss, assume that the wall

1 JOS. V. ix. 4 (409 f.).
2 See above, pp. 16, 8o, 87.
3 Or `north-east.'
4 JOS. V. *B.J.* Vi. r.
5 Since writing the above I see that Kuemmel (*Materialien,* etc., 71) comes to the same conclusion.

followed at the time of Titus's siege the same line as it did in Hezekiah's day : that is, across the mouth of the Tyropceon so as to include the two Pools. What, then, are we to make of Dr. Bliss's line of wall up the Tyropceon ? It seems to me there are three alternatives possible. Either (I) it was originally laid down before the ancient wall across the mouth of the Tyropceon and the tunnel and the upper pool were constructed, in which case we should have to think of it as built to ,encompass the South-west Hill, and as rendering that Hill *a* separately fortified town, with the valley open between it and the equally fortified East Hill ; or (2) it was built by the Maccabees round Jerusalem when the Syrians held the Akra on the East Hill,' and the wall across the Tyropceon had been destroyed by Antiochus Epiphanes ; or (3) it is some later wall built in the Christian era after Titus had again destroyed the wall across the mouth of the Tyropceon. The last alternative is attractive, but for the first there is this evidence in the Old Testament that under the Jewish kings *two walls* existed in this region, one of whose pools was called a *reservoir between the two walls* made *for the water of the old pool* after the people had *held back the water of the lower pool.*[2] This seems a Suitable description of Hezekiah's diversion of the water of Gihon (which had flowed by Schick and Masterman's conduit into the Birket el-Hamra,[3] or lower pool) by the tunnel to the new upper pool. But if so, the *two walls* cxisied from Hezekiah's time onwards. Either they were the one up the Tyropceon and the one across the mouth it, or else the former and the wall on the west of

I See above, pp. 194 f. 2 Isaiah xxii. 9, n. 3 See above, p. 91 f., 98.
II SO Bliss (apparently : pp. 326 1.) and Benzinger.

Ophe1.[1] In either of these cases it would be difficult to place *the gate between the two walls* by which Zedekiah and his soldiers, upon their escape from the City, emerged upon the King's Gardens.[2] Another alternative for the two walls, however, presents itself in connection with their use as the name for this exterior Gate. They might be the south wall above Hinnom and the east wall across the Tyropceon, which meet at the south-east angle, and *the gate between the two walls* would be an appropriate name for the great gate Dr. Bliss discovered at the angle. Among these uncertain alternatives we must leave the subject. Unfortunately, the nature of the little masonry left on the wall up the Tyropceon has not been sufficiently ascertained; nor did the remains at the point where the wall across, and the wall up, the Tyropceon diverge allow Dr. Bliss to determine anything decisive as to their relation .[3]

The East City Wall. Guthe's Excavations on Ophel.

We pass now to the ancient lines of wall which excavators have traced upon the ridge of the East Hill south of the Haram area. At the toe of the East Hill, upon a scarp, we saw that all the lines of ancient wall crossing the mouth of the Tyropceon valley northward converged, and that Dr. Bliss found here the remains of a tower

[1] So Duhm, Marti (one alternative), Guthe (Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 679), and Paton.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 2-5=Jer. lii. 5.8 ; Jer. xxxix. 2-5.

[3] As this sheet goes to press there has appeared, in the *journ. for Bibl. Liter.*, xxv. 1906, 5-53, an interesting paper on the Meaning of the Expression "between the Two Walls,'" by Prof. Lewis B. Paton. He takes the Gate between the Two Walls' (equivalent to the Fountain Gate) as having stood above the Upper Pool in the wall round Ophel, the Fountain of Siloam being outside it. But as (for the reasons given above) we must think of the exterior wall of the City as having crossed the mouth of the Tyropceon from Hezekiah's time onwards, and as the Gate between the two walls' was an exterior city gate through which Zedekiah and his men emerged on the King's Gardens, I am unable to agree with Prof. Paton's identification.

projecting from the wall over Kidron. From this point the east wall of the City must have run northwards on the edge of the Hill above Kidron. On this line Dr. Guthe conducted a number of excavations in 1881.[1] About go feet (over 27 m.) from the scarp he came upon a fragment of wall, finely and very firmly constructed, the original breadth of which must have been about 13 feet (4 m.). Unfortunately this fragment, undoubtedly part of the City wall, was only about ro feet 6 inches long (3·2 m.).[2] The next discoveries were much -further north, still on the edge of the Hill, from a point immediately above the Virgin's Spring for about 370 feet (113 m.) southwards.[3] They consisted of many fragments of wall and signs of scarped and levelled rock. For the most part the fragments of wall rested upon rock, but some of them upon concrete.[4] Their various directions show that the wall, or walls, here must have been built with various angles and perhaps projecting towers, just as one might have expected. Dr. Guthe distinguishes seven kinds of masonry, which he assigns to all ages from the most remote antiquity to the Byzantine period.[5] The general result may be accepted, that all these periods are represented on this most ancient portion of the City's site. For here the Jebusite citadel stood, afterwards David's-Burgh and the Syrian Akra ; walls encompassing *the 'Ophel* are attributed to at least one Jewish king ; Nehemiah rebuilt the wall here, and here it stood, being destroyed at intervals, till the time of the siege by Titus ; and here it was after-

Z.D.P.V., 5882;7-204, 271-378.
/bid. 42 f., 279, Tafel viii. K.

[3] *Ibid.* 545 *f.*, 150.166.

[4] Bid. 161 1., 286.

[5] *Ibid.* 2S4

wards rebuilt by Eudocia. But these very facts, to whose multitude the huge masses of *clibris* shot into the Kidron valley below bear impressive witness, prove how impossible it is to distinguish exactly among the different dates. A fuller excavation than Dr. Guthe accomplished would hardly lead to success, for the remains here have always been within reach of the quarrying fellahin, and even since Dr. Guthe worked heaps of old stones have been dug out, and portions of the rock itself have been blasted away.' But we may accept his identifications of the very ancient unmortared masonry as primitive, and the next most ancient as that of the masonry of the Jewish kings working under Phcenician influence ; as also his recognition of Byzantine work in the smooth-faced stones without bosses or margins which he uncovered ;[2] for this is the same as we have seen in the wall on the South-west Hill, which Dr. Bliss has reasonably assigned to the Empress Eudocia. But Dr. Guthe's other distinctions, into work respectively of Solomon, Hezekiah, Nehemiah and the Maccabees, are much more precarious. One suggestion I feel to be untenable : that of a certain double layer of squared stones to Jonathan,[3] for as long as the Akra stood in the possession of the Syrians, it is very improbable that any of the Maccabees built walls so near to it.

From the north end of Dr. Guthe's discoveries, the line of the east wall can only be inferred for some 295 feet (go m.) northwards past a rocky knoll near which ' some massive walls have been uncovered,' till we

Excavations at Jerusalem, 127.
[3] *Bid.* 147.
[2] *Z.D.P.V., 1882,* 310 f.
[4] *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 298.

reach, upon the same edge of Ophel, the south end of the wall discovered by Captain Warren ' in 1867. Commencing at the south-east angle of the Haram, he traced it in prolongation of the east City wall southwards for 76 feet (23·18 m.) to a small tower, at which it turns with the Ophel. ridge south-west for 70o feet, and then stops abruptly. At the base 14 feet 6 inches thick (4·42 m.), it rises from the clay, on which it rests, 5o feet, or 74 above the rock. The lower 20 feet (6·o9 m.) are of rubble masonry, with a plinth course of a 6-inch (15 cm.) projection above it, and then smooth-faced masonry without margins or bosses. Whatever may have' been the origin of the lower rubble—whether an older wall or a foundation for the upper masonry—this latter, as Dr. Bliss points out,[2] resembles the masonry of his upper line of wall on the South-west Hill : the proportions of the stones and the spaces between the towers on the two walls are also much the same.[3] But further, this Ophel wall rests like the south-west wall on the line of an older construction : besides its own small towers, Sir Charles Warren found the remains of two towers with large boss-and-margin stones corresponding to the masonry of the lower wall on the South-west Hill. One of these towers, projecting 41-1- feet (12·65 m.) from the rubble line to a face of So feet (24·39 m.), Sir Charles Warren has suggested, may be *the tower which lieth out.*[4]

Tile Warren's Excavations on

I Recovery of Jerusalem, 294 ff. ; *P.E.F. Memoirs,* ' Jerusalem,' 226 ff., With phttes v. and xi.
[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem,* 129.
All this would indicate that from the plinth upwards at least, Warren's will is that built by the Empress Eudocia. Kuemmel (p. 89) thinks it'must go back at least to the time of Herod.
• See above, p. 199.

Of other lines of wall on Ophel, of which we read at least once that it was encompassed,' few traces remain.

Other Walls on Ophel.

Sir Charles Warren found a wall running west from the east wall, 15 feet (4'57 m.) south of the Haram wall. It is but 4 feet (r21 in.) thick. No traces of a wall with masonry *in situ* have been found along the west edge of Ophel above the Tyrop(mon or round the south end ; but scarps stand here and there upon this line, and the disappearance of the masonry is well accounted for by the fact that in later ages the wall was not required for the defence of the city, and must have been destroyed without being rebuilt.

The Karam Area and the Temple Walls.

We have now, with Warren's wall, reached the south-east angle of the Haram area. Here we strike what in one shape or another was always a separate part of Jerusalem, enclosed, as to-day, within its own walls, and forming a distinct keep or citadel within and partly upon the walls of the City. If I abstain from giving a detailed description of this Temple area, its buildings, substructions, and surrounding wall, that is not only because such a description would require almost a volume to itself, but because with the data at present before us I am unable to come to conclusions upon many of the details. For our present task, the survey of the City walls, only a general outline is necessary of what the excavations have shown to be probable concerning the area and its boundaries. It is universally agreed that the threshing-floor of Araunah upon which Solomon built the First Temple and its courts lay somewhere within the present Haram area. The Biblical descriptions, as well as the tenacity with

[1] See above, p. 208.

which sanctuaries in the East hold through all changes of religion to the same sites, form sufficient premises for this conclusion. Further, the investigation of the contours of the original hill under the Haram area ha; shown that the site of the First Temple and its courts must have been upon the highest portion of the hill, round the Rock es-Sakhra, where indeed Josephus places it." On this site also lay the Second Temple, and by consequence, the Temple of Herod. But Herod practically doubled the sacred precincts.[2] According to Josephus, the perimeter of the area under Solomon had been four stadia,[3] but after Herod's reconstruction was six, including Antonia.[4] Thus, while Solomon's Temple area had been a square, one stadium in each direction,' Herod's became an oblong, probably by extension north and south. The dimensions which Josephus gives are not trustworthy, nor reconcilable with those of the Haram area. Some think that in' *extent* the present Haram area is the same as Herod's Temple area ; but, for reasons given below, the latter probably did not extend much further north than the present ' Golden Gate,' thus excluding the space east of Antonia. The IIaram area forms not a quite perfect rectangle ; only the south-west and north-east angles are right angles.[8] Exact measurements have been attempted several times, but their results differ. Approximately the south side is 920 feet, the east 1540, the north 1035, and

I v., *B.J. v. 1.* A study of the contours shows the improbability of the theory of Fergusson, Thrupp, Lewin, and others, advocated by W. R. Smith, art. `Temple,' *Enc. Brit.,* that Solomon's Temple, and, according to the last-named, Herod's also, lay in the south-west angle of the Haram area, which projects on substructions over the Tyropceon.

[2] **Jos. i. B.j** *xxi. I;* cf. xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.
xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (near the end).

[4] **V.** *B. j. v.* **2 (§ 192).**

[6] **xv.** *Ant.* xi. 3.

[°] *Afem. 119.*

the west 1605 (about 280, 470, 315, 490 m.), which do not agree with the round figures of Herod's area given by Josephus, nor are the proportions of length to breadth nearly the same. Herod surrounded his area by a great wall with battlements,[1] round all the inside of which ran colonnades or porticoes,[2] destroyed by Titus, and never rebuilt. It is not impossible that, in constructing this wall, Herod had made use of at least the foundations of the old Temple area wall on the west and east. But, to obtain the extension of the area, especially on the south, he must have had to form great substructions, and surround these parts with a wall new from the bottom. So far as they go, the excavations confirm, and nowhere contradict, this assumption. They have revealed the present walls round the area to be of very composite structure, indicative of building and rebuilding at many different periods. Sir Charles Warren's researches have determined forty-one courses of stone,[3] of which from six to twenty are at various points still above-ground, the rest being covered by masses of shot *debris,* or lying deeper still in the original soil above the rock on which the foundation courses rest. Of the courses above-ground, from three to twelve are of comparatively modern masonry, either Turkish, with stones of irregular form and many kinds of dressing, some of which have evidently been borrowed from older structures ; or else uniformly Byzantine, smooth-faced, without margins or bosses. But other courses are as evidently older ; large stones with margins and very fine joints. These can be seen to-day in the

[1] iv. *B.J. ix. 52.* [2] xv. *Ant.* xi. 5; v. *B.J.,* v. 2.
[3] See the interesting table, Appendix iii. of the *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 332 f.

lowest course above-ground in the south wall west of the Single Gate, or better still, from this eastward to the south-east angle, where the present surface falling rapidly away leaves several courses of them visible. Below-ground, according to Sir Charles Warren's reports, the courses everywhere exhibit an ancient character. All these older pre-Byzantine courses are as ancient *at least* as the Herodian age, in which the Temple area was so greatly extended, chiefly (as we have seen) by substructions and walls new from the foundation on the south and south-west, so as to cover the bed of the Tyropceon valley above which the present south-west angle of the area lies. The masonry resembles that of the extant base of Herod's Tower, Phasael, and of other remains of buildings constructed under the Greek influences which prevailed during this period. Whether any part of the surrounding walls goes behind the Herodian age, or any is Maccabean, or even Solomonic, cannot be declared with certainty. Sir Charles Warren has shown how different the masonry round the south-west angle from the Bab el-Mugharib to the Double Gate is from that to the north of it, on the west wall ; and we have seen that, on other grounds, this angle of the area was Herod's work. But probably the whole south wall was his. The north wall has not been sufficiently examined, but is later than even Agrippa. Some think that the portions of the west and east walls, which are opposite the site of Solomon's Temple, are Solomon's original Temple walls. In their lower courses there is nothing to conflict with the theory of his date, but the archaic letters found on them cannot be used in evidence of this ; these may be as late as' Agrippa. Solomon's Temple-court had its

southern limit some 30o feet north of the south wall of the Haram. As his Palace was to the south of and below his Temple,[1] it must, as Sir Charles Warren long ago pointed out, have lain within the south Haram wall—he thinks at the south-east angle, but probably further north, ¡mmediately adjoining the Temple.

From these observations of the Temple walls we return to the east City wall, one line of which, we saw, ran up the east margin of Ophel to their south-east angle. This east City wall is independent of the east Temple wall, though built in a line with it. It is of very different construction, rising perpendicularly, while the Temple wall has a batter ; and it is founded on the clay above the rock, while the Temple wall is founded on the rock itself. These facts point to the Ophel wall as the later of the two; and indeed we found that it resembled, and was probably the continuation of, the wall of Eudocia, uncovered by Dr. Bliss on the South-west Hill. In the fifth century, then, as to-day, the east City wall, after coming up Ophel, was continued by the east Haram wall in line with it. But it is extremely probable that this was also the case in the Herodian age, and at the siege by Titus. The fact that the ,south-east angle of the Herodian wall is not a right angle, like that at the south-west, can be explained by the east wall of Herod's Temple area having been built in line with the City wall up Ophel, which. Herod found, and the line of which Eudocia followed: And indeed Josephus expressly says that the City wall coming up Ophel joined on to the east cloister of the Temple.'[2] Nor does he contradict this datum by any

East Wallt coincident with East Wall of Temple Neeaoisiathne period•

[1] See below, Bk. NI. ch. iii.

[2] Jos, V. *B.J.* iv. 2.

thing else he says in his description of the Temple and account of the siege, but, on the contrary, rather confirms it; for he nowhere mentions an east City wall outside of the east wall of the Temple area, but describes how one looked down from the top of the latter, a giddy height, into the valley below.' Nor do I think all this is contradicted by his statement that Agrippa's wall, coming . round the north of the City, joined to the old wall and came to an end in the ravine called Kedron,'[2] because *the old wall* is too vague a phrase from which to infer a separate City wall east of and below the east Haram wall, and (as just said) Josephus nowhere describes a course for the City wall independently of the latter, but, on the contrary, leaves a gap just where the east Haram wall comes in. On these grounds we may assume that in the Herodian age, and at the siege, the east wall of the Temple area had no City wall to the east of it, but lay above Kidron. the only rampart of Jerusalem upon that quarter.' And this view is further confirmed by the fact that Sir Charles Warren found the east Haram wall running on continuous to the north after the north-east angle Of ,the Haram area was, passed,[4] that is, into the line of Agrippa's wall.

But probably it was different in Old Testament times,

xv, *Ant. xi.* 5. His remark that one could not see the bottom of the "tilley from the top of the Temple walls does not mean, of course, that a city sIl came in to break the view, but that the height was so great as to strain $pectator's eyes in reachin$ to the bottom—a characteristic hyperbole.

. *v. B.J. iv.* 2. Does ravine called of the Kedron ' mean here, as Sandie (i63 L) holds, 'the tributary ravine'?

$ Kuemmcl takes a contrary view, on the ground of the phrase, *the old wall* atopialkn, etc., 89).

• *Amery of Jerusalem,* 162: There can be no doubt that the ancient wall w the surface runs several feet to the north of the north-east angle with uut bleak of any kind.'

and that then a separate City wall did run above Kidron below the east wall of the Temple area. Some 46 feet (14 m.) to the east of the Golden Gate of the Haram wall (which is comparatively modern, but rests on an ancient Temple gateway) Sir Charles Warren came upon 'a massive masonry wall' running from south to north, but with a bend westwards ; on the line, that is, of the contours round the Temple Mount up the gully which here comes into the Kidron : the line round which we have seen the pre-exilic wall of the City to have bent.' Sir Charles tried to break through this wall of massive masonry, but had to desist after penetrating for 5 feet 6 inches (1.67 m.). The stanela are so far similar to the lower course seen in the Harare wall near the Golden Gate, that their roughly dressed faces project about 6 inches (152.39 mm.) beyond the marginal draft, and that they are over 5 feet (v52 rri.) long and 2 feet 6 inches (·76 m.) high. The joints are about 12 inches (·30 m.) apart, and filled with stones packed in a curious cement of lime, oil and the virgin red clay of the site, still used in dressing cisterns. It k possible that this wall continues up to the surface, as immediately above it, upon the road, Sir Charles Warren found ' some large roughly bevelled stones lying on the same line." Taking all these facts into consideration s that the masonry is ancient, that it is worthy to have ,' been part of a City wall, and that it follows the natural; direction for the pre-exilic City wall, as this turned frorriV the Kidron valley round the north of the Temple Mount,

East City Wall O.T. times ran below East Wall of Temple.

I See above, pp. zoo, 208.

² Abridged (except so far as the indication of its following the contour is concerned) from the *Recovery of Jerusalem,* 156-169.

we may assume, fragmentary as it is, that it represents the approach to the north-east angle of the City wall laid down above Kidron, but below the east Temple wall, by the Kings of Judah, and repaired by Nehemiah. We may almost dare to identify it with the wall which the Chronicler says Manasseh carried north from Ophel as far as the Fish-Gate.' Where on the south it left the Ophel wall (which was afterwards carried higher on the slope to join the eastern Temple wall) we cannot tell : most probably about the first ancient tower which Sir Charles Warren found south of the Haram area. The theory that on the north this wall turned up out of the Kidron westward on the north slope of the Temple Mount and to the south of the tributary gully (crossing, as I think, the line of the present Haram wall a little south of the tower called Solomon's Throne, and curving thence to the rock Antonia [2]), was first suggested to me by Mr. Sandie's volume.[3] Dr. Schick follows the same line on his Plan of 1891-2.[4] This is the natural line, and it suits the data of Pompey's assault on the Temple from the north. The only fact which leads to hesitation about it is that Sir Charles Warren concluded that the wall at the north-east angle of the Haram area, that is on the north of the tributary gully, is the work of the Kings of Judah,[1] and that therefore their east wall did not turn way from Kidron till north of that : Sir Charles thinks turned in near St. Stephen's Gate.[6] But this view is opposed by the almost certain fact that if not Herod then Agrippa made a northern extension of the Temple

See above, p. 208.

See above, p. 166.

A'ecovery of Jerusalem, 324.

² See above, p. 200 f.

⁴ *Z.D.P. V. xvii. ;* Plan opposite p. I.

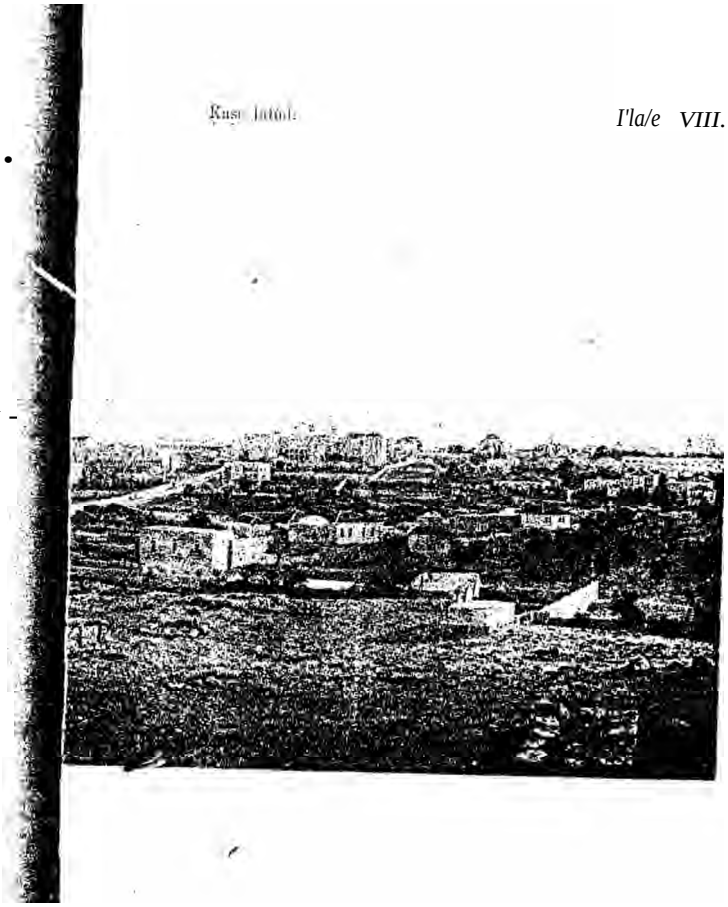
⁶ *Ibid.* 170 1.

area, and that (this is quite certain) the Birket Israel, which now lies on the tributary gully, was not there in Pompey's time. Sir Charles Warren has himself proved that the east wall of the Haram does not stop at the north-east angle, but continues several feet (at least) to the north without break of any kind.'[1] It seems to me that all the work here is of the Roman age, and that Colonel Conder and Dr. Schick are right in bringing[2] the wall of Agrippa round Bezetha south across the mouth of the tributary gully.[3]

East City Wall North of the Haram.

We have seen, then, that the ancient east wall of the City turned round to the north wall south of the tributary gully which enters the Kidron valley under the north-east angle of the Haram, and that Agrippa's wall crossed the mouth of this gully to meet it just as Josephus describes.[4] Following the line of this northward from the Haram, the line of the present City wall, we reach St. Stephen's Gate *(Bab Sitti Mariam),* and here meet with unmistakable proof that we have left the more ancient and frequently destroyed walls of Jerusalem behind us, and are pursuing a line of wall comparatively modern and very seldom destroyed. For while from this gate southwards to the south-east angle the *debris* varies in depth from so to





I'la/e VIII.

Recovery of Jerusalem, 16z ; apparently 26 feet (7.92 m.).

[2] *P.E.F. Mem., Jerus.'* 245 ; *Z.D.P. P.* xvii., plan opposite p. I.

[3] Warren found Phoenician letters in red paint (like those found near the other end of the east llarain wall) on a stone below the original surface of the tributary gully some 72 feet (22 m.) south of the Tower *(P.E.F. Mein.,* 329, ro). But it is precarious to draw any inference of date from these. The old Phoenician script was in use in Israel, on coins, down to 130 A.D., and may easily have persisted also as a tradition among masons. Note the tessera similar to those supposed to be Roman,' which Warren found below a drain running along the Aram wall on top of course Z *(Recovery of Jerusalem,* 186).

[4] Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 2.

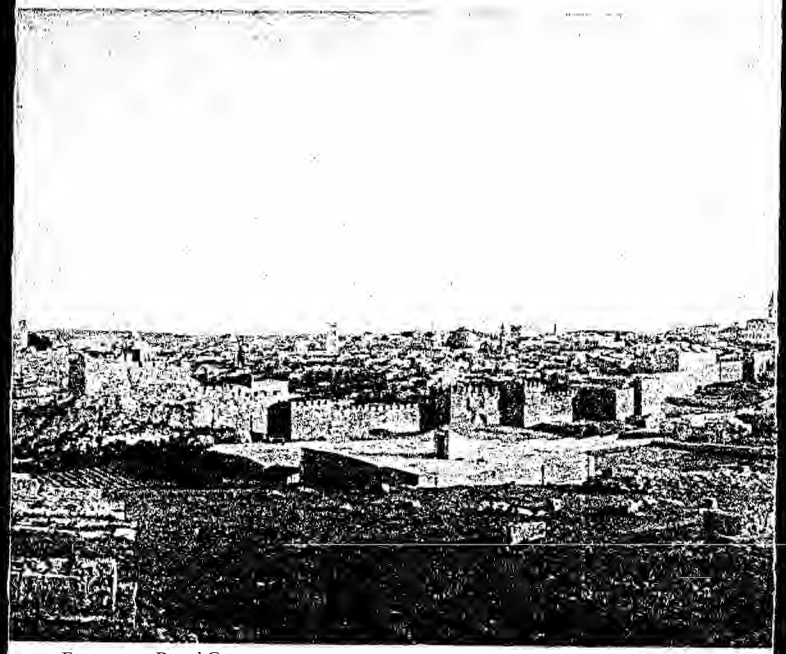
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Entrance to Royal Caverns. Damascus Gate.

THE PRESENT NORTH WALL OF' JERUSALEM.
Taken from el-Edhemiyen.

over goo feet' (t5 to 3o m.), north of the gate `there are only a few feet of *debris* and often none at all ; this rather plies that to the north of this gate there has been very tic destruction of old walls.'[1] At St. Stephen's Gate the pre t wall does not rest upon rock, but only goes for to fect (304 m.) below the surface, and then rests upon to feet of concrete above the rock.[2] He thinks, therefore, tha St Stephen's Gate may not stand upon the site of old wall.' But the construction he has noted may be to the haste with which Agrippa's wall was coin- by the Jews after he had left it unfinished. From Stephen's Gate the wall runs by the east of Bezetha wards to the Burj Lalslals, its north-east angle, with k-cut ditch on the outside. The ditch never went further north than this, but turns almost at right angles to the west and the wall with it.

The latter, now the north wall of the present City, runs east on a high scarp to the so-called Herod's Gate (or *Bab S ire),* west of which it recedes for a space, The Present
but its original line, to judge from ancient North City remains,[3] ran straight to a point above the entrance to the 'Royal or Cotton Grottoes *(11fagheiret el Kettân), where* its foot is some 65 feet (19·8 m.) above the level of the ditch below. Between this and the Damascus Gate or Gate of the Pillars *(Bab el-'ilnald)* several courses of the ancient masonry are still *in situ.*[4] The gate is Turkish work, and bears an inscription of Suleiman the Mcent.[5] With a mainly west-south-west direction, small and ditch run from the Damascus Gate up to the

[1] *fie ry of Jerusalem,* 17o and 160. [2] *Ibid. 161, 570.*
ro.S.F..Q., [188]9, 3[8].
k r says that the Turks have modernised their appearance (104).
Ve, p. 184.

extreme north-west angle of the present City, and turn sharply south-east upon Goliath's Castle (the „1i" or *1<ala 'at Jalild).* For the greater part of this st the present wall runs inside the line of the old wall, follows largely the same angles as the latter.' Goliath' Castle is a complex of remains of a powerful fort f several periods The rock base and . of the masonry)robably represent Herod$t Tower, *Psephinus.* Herr Schick would carry back pai of it to at least Maccabean times,[2] but according to Sir Charles Wilson and others this part is of Crusading origin [3]—an illustration of the extreme diversity of views, which it is possible for authorities to reach on the archzo: logical and literary evidence. To the north-west of t Kasr Jalild a line of ancient wall has been discovettit coming south on the present north wall at *an* obtuse angle. There must have been a gate about here.[4]

Goliath's Castle.

From this point the west wall of the City, with a stretch =r, of old wall parallel to it on the outside (which Dr. Schick attributes to Hadrian) runs south-east to the Jaffa Gate *(Bab el-Khalil),* a Turkish structu*- and south of this, till the recent gap was inadt in it, joined on to the present citadel of which the north- west tower was probably Herod's *Hippicus,* and the northk,, east certainly Herod's *Phasae4* The great outside dl of which there has been no trace for some time, reap again outside the Citade1.[5] From the Citadel the wag

The present West City Wall.

[1] Schick, *Z.D.P. Y.,* 1878, x6 ff. ; Merrill, *P.E.F.Q.,* 1903, 155 f& discovery of part of a crypt or ancient monastery outside the wall neat Damascus Gate, see Barton, *Jour. of Bib!. Lit., xxii.* 176 ff.

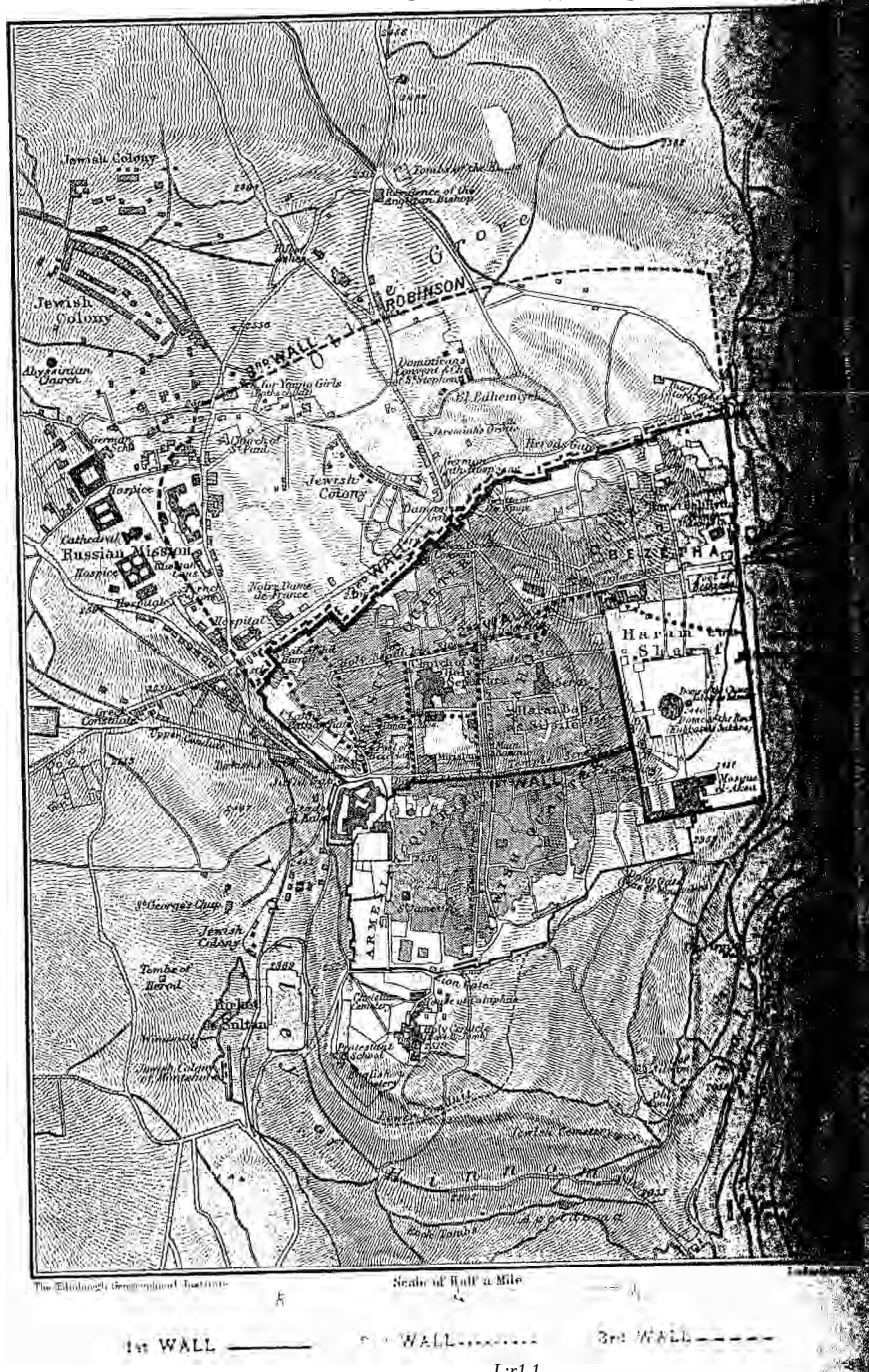
[2] *Z.D.P. V.,* 1878, 21.

; Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, Notes, 1865, 73 ff. ; cf. *P.E.A* Mac 'Jerus.' 266.

[4] Schick, *Z.D.P. V.,* x878, 22.

[5] For a curious theory of Uzziah's constructions on this part of the perimeter, see Schick, *Z. D.P. V. xvii. 17 ;* cf. Plan.

THE THREE NORTHERN WALLS



L:r1,1

Olt a scarp above Hinnom, till it suddenly turns this eastwards across the South-west Hill, probably the direction of Hadrian's south wall. The stretch the north-west corner of the Citadel and this Is the most ancient and constant stretch in the *eribolos* of the City, representing the west wall Jerusalem perhaps as early as Solomon's time, and as early as Hezekiah's, the west Hasmonean wall, wall of Herod's citadel and fortified palace, the wall of the Legionary Camp and of Hadrian's **and** the west wall of the city ever since through ycantine, Moslem and Crusading periods. From rata south-west angle the natural and more ancient Continues above Hinnom south to Maudslay's Scarp. **So we** arrive again at our starting-point upon this archaeological survey of the City walls.

5. THE THREE NORTH WALLS.

Wc have now to examine only the remains of ancient within the northern section of the City, and to c how far they and the ancient remains The Three ve just noted on the present encircling North Walls help us to determine the courses of the of Josephus. north walls described by Josephus.' These (as n already said) he calls the First, Second and numbering them from the inmost and most ly, the earliest continuation across the north of the City of the wall which encircled the South- Hill and Ophel. The Second or middle Wall from the Gate Genath on the First, and curved to The Third or most northerly was that begun

[1] *v. . 1,* 2.

by Agrippa, and finished by the Jews before the siege of Titus ; it ran round Bezetha. But when Josephus is recording the advance of Titus into the City from the north, he reverses these numbers : the Third Wall he calls the First, and the First he calls the Third.'

Of the course of the First or most southerly of these we can have little doubt. Josephus says that it began at the tower called Hippicus,[2] probably in the north-west corner of the present Citadel, by the Jaffa Gate, and ran east, by Phasael, the present ' David's Tower,' and by the Tower Mariamnes the site of which is unknown, towards the Xystos which lay in the Tyropceon, and then, joining the Boule or Council-House, finished upon the west colonnade of the Temple. That is to say, if we add to these data those of the natural features between the present Citadel and the west klaram wall (so far as they have been ascertained), the First Wall ran along the north edge of the South-west Hill above the cross-valley which declines from the Jaffa Gate into the Tyropceon,[4] and then traversed the latter to the Temple Mount and the west Temple wall. On this line several ancient remains have been found. To begin with, there is the base of Herod's Phasael, already described.[5] Some 440 feet (134 m.) farther east, on the continuation of a line drawn from Hippicus to Phasael, under the Haret ed-Pawayeh and on its north side, there is a stretch of ancient wall about 160 feet (49 m.) with two towers projecting northwards 8 feet 7 inches (2·61 m.), and having faces of 9 feet io inches (3 rh.).[6]

The First Wall of Josephus.

[1] *v. B. J.* vi. ff.
[2] *Id.* 1V. 2.
[3] *Id.* 3, 4-
[4] See above, p *P.E.P. Mt.*
[5] See above, p. 191.
[6] , cr. De Vogue, *Le Temple de Jerusalem,* 112 ff.

At the east end of the same street some ancient remains (often called the Gate Genath) have been proved by Sir Charles Warren to be Roman or Byzantine.' No further remains have been uncovered, but probably the wall crossed the Tyropceon somewhat on the line of the street Bab es-Silsile to Wilson's Arch and the other ancient remains about this.

In this First Wall there opened, according to Josephus, the Gate Genath.[2] If we knew the exact position of this Gate, many of the most difficult and unsettled points in the topography would become fixed and clear. But we do not know ; and even if excavation ever becomes possible in so crowded a part of the City, it will be a piece of rare fortune to discover this Gate after the thorough destruction of the wall by Titus. Josephus mentions the Gate Genath only once as the starting-point of the Second Wall. The name, if it means Garden Gate, would be suitable for a gateway opening upon the North-west Hill outside of the Second Wall, for the ground there was unoccupied by houses. The Gate Genath has been placed by some between the towers Hippicus and Phasael, that is close to the Jaffa Gate,[3] and by others at the latter tower.[4] But Sir Charles Wilson argues that the interval between Hippicus and it must have been considerable.[5] Present theories about the position of the Gate depend entirely upon

The Gate Genath.

Recovery of Jerusalenz, 50, 274-6, with Plan ; *P.E.F. Mem.* 234 f.
* *v. B.J. iv.* 2. repa0, as though it were the Aram. Ganatha (Heb. and Urn, Heb. Gannah or Ginnah)-= Garden. But the root-meaning of the word *is protection,* and this is not lightly to be excluded where the name of a cute l concerned.
The earlier view and Robinson's, *B.R. i.* 461 *f. ; L.B.R.* 212 *ff. Er.* Schick, *Z.D.P. Y. xvii.19 ;* cf. Guthe, Hauck's *R.E.* viii. 679, line 58. *Go/se/ha,* etc., 128. At Ilippicus there was a 'secret gate,' v. *B.J. vi.* 5.

what their authors think the course of the Second Wall to have been.

Before discussing this, the most difficult and contested line in all the topography of the City, it will be best to try to determine the line of the Third or outmost wall of Josephus. The beginning of it was the tower Hippicus, whence extending northwards to the tower Psephinus, it then marched down right opposite the monuments of Helena," . . and, prolonged through the Royal Caverns, bent at the corner tower beside the monument called the Fuller's, and joining the ancient *peribolos* came to an end at the ravine called Kedron. This Agrippa laid round the increase of the City, which was all unprotected ; for [the City] overflowing in population, had gradually crept beyond its *periboloi.* Especially the parts to the north of the Temple towards the hill, becoming one with the City, advanced not a little till the fourth hill was surrounded with houses. This hill, which is called Bezetha, lies opposite the Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep fosse, dug on purpose to prevent the foundations of the Antonia adjacent to the hill from being easily approached from and dominated by the latter.'[2]

The Third Wall of Josephus.

In his account of the attack of Cestius on the City, Josephus calls 0- ·uarter thus enclosed by Agrippa's wall Betheza (fha), or New-City, and implies that

1 The same was queen of Adiabene, daughter of King Izates.'

[2] V. *B.J.* iv. 2. I have omitted the strange meaning which Josephus, gives to the name Bezetha This recently built quarter is called in the vernacular Bezetha, which, if interpreted in the Greek tongue, would be called New-City.' More correctly, in ii. *B.J. xix.* 4, Josephus says that Bezetha (here in Niese's text spelt Betheza) was *also* called New-City. Bezetha cannot mean New-City: probably it stands for Beth-zaith, house' or district of olives.'

it contained the Timber-Market,' and in his account of the capture of it by Titus he calls it the northern parts ' of the City. Titus, he adds, now camped within [the City] at the so-called " Camp of the Assyrians," having seized all the intervening parts as far as the Kedron:[2] Also he tells us that opposite the monuments of Queen Helena there was a gate in the Third Wall beside the towers, called The Women's Towers.'[3] The course which Josephus describes for Agrippa's wall shows more than one remarkable correspondence to that of the present City wall round 'the north parts of the City '; and though this wall is mostly of Saracenic construction, we will keep in mind that we have seen ancient remains sometimes in its own lower courses and sometimes following a line parallel to it, a few feet to the outside.' Agrippa's wall ran north from Hippicus (probably the north-west tower of the modern Citadel), just as the present wall does, to Psephinus, from which it descended' as the present wall does from Kasr Jahld, and was prolonged like the present wall past the Royal or Cotton Caverns to a corner tower where it turned, and arrived, just as the present wall arrives, at the ancient *peribolos* above Kidron, most probably on the south of the tributary gully.' It thus enclosed Bezetha just as the present wall does. Like other defences of the period, it had a ditch on its outer side,' like the present wall. There arc besides the following considerations. It is unlikely that even the Herodian Jerusalem was so large as to extend beyond the present north wall of the City ; as it was, there

B.J. xix. 4.
v. B.7. ii. 2.
[6] See above, p. 237 f.

[2] V. B.J. vii. 2, 3 (§§ 302, 303).
[4] Above, p. 239 f.
Wilson, *Golgotha,* etc., 14o.

was still a great deal of vacant ground within Agrippa's wall. Moreover, it does not appear that the plateau north of the present wall was ever built upon sufficiently to justify our assuming that it formed part of the City. Compared with the soil inside the present wall, there is very little *debris*, except at isolated points, mixed with or lying over the reddish earth of the original surface of the district.' The many cisterns which dot the plateau on the ordnance map are not nearly so frequent as those within the City, and are to be accounted for by the custom of having cisterns in suburban gardens, or as belonging to the villas which, from Josephus's description, probably stood among the gardens to the north of Agrippa's wal1.[2] Dr. Robinson, indeed, traced the course of the Third Wall from 90o to 1800 feet (274 to 548 m.) north of the present wal1,[3] so as to coincide with some ancient remains which al). .1 have been much more numerous in Robinsm, tnan they are now. In 1864-5 these were investigated by the Ordnance Survey officers, with the result that in their opinion they could not have formed part of a wall of defence.'[4] The theory is besides opposed by the fact that the Third Wall ran through

[1] Cf. Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 53 f.

[2] *v. B.J.* ii. 2 (gardens and hedges) ; iii. 2 (hedges and walls) ; vi. 2 (trees and suburbs) ; cf. vi. *B.J. i. I.*

[3] *B.R. i.* 464 *ff. ; L.B.R.* 179 f., 188, 193, and Map of Jerusalem. Robinson *(Ede. i.* 458) places Psephinus not at Goliath's Castle,' but from 700 to 135o feet further north, near the east end of the present Russian cathedral. A similar extended line has been advocated by Schultz, Fergusson, Thrupp, Tobler, and recently with still more forcible arguments by Merrill. Conder, agreeing with Robinson as to the position of Psephinus, traces the Third Wall east from this, and so as to join the present City wall at the Royal Caverns. *Handbook to the Bible*, 352 ; *P.E.F.Q.*, 1883, 77 ; but cf. Hastings, *Diet. of Bible*, ii. 595. Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 204, states strong, and, as it appears to me, final, answers to this theory.

[4] Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 204. Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., 54, sayi

the Royal Caverns.' As already said, it implies an extension of the City, improbable even in the Herodian age, and for which no evidence has been found in the soil outside the present wall. On the whole, then, it appears to me that the Third Wall most probably followed the line of the present City wall.'

Those who support Robinson's theory of the Third Wall as having embraced a vast portion of the northern plateau outside the present wall, suppose that the line of the Second Wall coincided, or nearly coincided, with the latter on the stretch Josephus. The Second Wall of Josephus

west of the Damascus Gate, from which it ran to Antonia, either direct or over the highest point of Bezetha (as Robinson thinks).[2] As Sir Charles Wilson points out, this course is not compatible with Josephus's statement that the wall went up' to Antonia ;[3] and, besides showing no ancient remains between the Damascus Gate and Antonia, is just there of doubtful military value. But if, *as* we have seen, it is probable that the Third Wall of Josephus followed the line of the present City wall, we must seek for the course of the Second Wall somewhere to the south between it and the course of the First Wall,

that it is supposed that the wall, of which there are remains, was erected by the Crusaders, and refers to *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 278 ; but on this page Sir Charles Warren is writing not of the remains in question, but of others at the Damascus Gate.

[1] This view is very fully argued by Sir Charles Wilson, *Golgotha*, etc., 137 ff. It is also that of Schick, *Z. D. P. V. xvii.* 87 (see Plan opposite p. t) ; of Guthe, Ifauck's *R.-E.* viii. 686, lines 58 f. ; Kuemmel, *Materialien*, etc., $3, etc. ; and, on the whole, Robertson Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2430. Of course, as remarked above, the original line of the wall was sometimes coincident with the present line, and sometimes lay outside, but exactly parallel to it, as proved by the ancient remains. Between Hippicus and Psephinus it may have lain inside the present wall on the line traced by Schick on his map.

[2] *L.B.R.* 217-220.

[3] *Golgotha*, etc., 128.

which we have traced from the Citadel along the north slope of the South-west Hill, and across the Tyropceon to the Haram area. Josephus says, it took its beginning from the gate which they called Genath, on the First Wall, and encircling the northern quarter [of the City] alone it went up as far as the Antonia.'[1] That is, it must have reached the Antonia from the hollow of the Tyropceon on• the west. This is all we certainly know about it ; for, as we have seen, its starting-point at the Gate Genath is uncertain. Various courses have been laid out for it, of which tailed description has lately been given by Sir' Wilson.[2] They depend upon their supporters' opinions of the character of lines and clumps of ancient masonry, worthy to be parts of a city wall, discovered at various points between the line of the First Wall and the latitude of Antonia. As we have seen that the character of a bit of masonry can be by itself no clue to its date ; as Titus himself is said to have thrown down the whole northern stretch' of the wall ;[3] and as this is the part of the City where there has been the most frequent destruction and rebuilding of walls both exterior and interior, and where prolonged and thorough excavation has been least possible, the most sound position to take up is that of scepticism with regard to all these remains. It would have been generally agreed that we can know but little of the course of the Second Wall after it crossed the Tyropceon from the Antonia, had not the question of the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre depended on how the wall passed from the Tyropceon to the First Wall, and where it struck the latter. More or less probable assumptions as to the line of this passage

[1] *v. B.J.* iv. 2. [2] *Golgotha,* etc., 227 *ff.* [3] *v. B.J.* viii. 2.

can be made from the natural lie of the rock on the North-west Hill (whose present contours, however, may not have been exactly those which shaped it in ancient times), and from the account by Josephus of the Roman assault under Titus upon the Second Wall. But on our present data it is hopeless to attempt to decide between the rival and contradictory arguments ; and my own conclusion after a study of the remains, so far as they are still visible, and of the literature on the subject, is that we do not know how the Second Wall ran from the First to the Tyropceon ; we do not know whether it ran inside or outside the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

CHAPTER IX

THE NAME JERUSALEM AND ITS HISTORY

THE English spelling of the name Jerusalem—which is common to many modern languages—was derived by the Authorised Version of 1611 A.D., through the Vulgate, from the Greek Ierousalem, and approximates to what was in all probability the earlier pronunciation in Hebrew, Ye'rushalena. The Old Testament form, however, vocalises the last syllable differently : Yerushalaim. Other Semitic dialects give the type Urusalem with several modifications. And even in Greek and Latin, besides Ierousalem, there are Hierousalem, Hierusalem, Hierosolyma, and Solyma, most of which reappear in one or other of the modern European languages. The history of all these forms, along with a discussion of the questions, which is the original or nearest the original and what the derivation of the latter may be, forms the subject of the present chapter.'

various forms of the Name.

Of recent literature the following may be cited :—by J. Grill, *Z.A.7'. W.*, 1884, 134 IL : Ueber Entstehung u. Bedeutung des Namens Jerusalem' (written before the discovery of the name in the Tell el-Amarna letters, which contradicts much of the argument) ; by Haupt, *Giitting. Gelehrt. Rath. richten*, 1883, 108, and *Isaiah, S.B.O.T.* (Hebrew), Excursus on *xxix. r ;* by Marquart, *Z. A. T. W.*, 1888, 152 ; by myself, *Enc. Bibl.*, Jeri. salem,' § 1, and *Expositor* for February 1903, The Name Jerusalem and other Names' ; by F. Pratorius, *Z.D.M.G. lvii.* 782 ; and by Nestle, *Z.D.P. V. xxvii.* (1904) 153 ft: ; Zum Namen Jerusalem.' Other relevant literature will be cited in the course of this chapter, which is based on the *Expositor* article mentioned above. The forms of the name in various dialects are spelt as in my article in the *Enc. Bibl.*, of which Nestle says that, of the modern Encyclopaedias, it `geht am genauesten auf die Schreibung des Namens ein.' *Cf.* also Guthe in Hauck's *R.-E.*, viii. 673 f.

In the consonantal text of the Old Testament, the Hebrew letters for the name are 05V11° Y-R-U-S[1]-L-M. The Massoretes have vocalised them as thviro Ytirashdlaim, which takes the fuller ירושלים The Hebrew Yerushalaim *re*rit,* Yerushalayim in three late passages.[2] [a] late form. This (without vowels) appears on coins which belong either to the reign of Simon, 142-135 B.C., or to the Jewish revolt against Rome, 66-70 A.D. ; [3] and also sometimes in the Talmudic literature.[4] The termination -aim - or -ayim used to be taken as the ordinary termination . of the dual of nouns, and was explained as signifying the upper and lower cities, of which Jerusalem was composed at least in the later periods of her history.[5] But either it is a mere local ending, for it appears in other place-names, in which it is not natural to conjecture a Clual,[6] or a purely artificial form confined to the reading of the Scriptures and other solemn occasions. In any case Yerushalaim is a late Hebrew form, and appears in no other dialect.

I Or H

[2] According to Baer : Jer. xxvi. 18 ; Esther ii. 6 ; 2 anon. xxxii. 9. Other recensions of the text add two more : 1 Chron. iii. 5 ; 2 Chron. xxv. 1—in both of which Baer reads The Babylonian vocalisation gives the 5 with a *Pathali* (short a) ; in Codex B it has a *.S'eshol,* 2 Kings iv. *7.* (Cf. Bleck, *Etat.*, 6th ed. 588 ; Nestle, *op. cit.* 154.)

On these coins and the question of their date, *see* Bk. 11. ch. ix.

[4] E.g. *Tosephta 'Kethuboth,'* 4. Usually the form is 1:35c4-0, *11Iishna* Zehattim,' xiv. 3 ; Menahoth,' x. 2, 5 ; Araldn,' ix. 6, etc. etc.

Gesenius, *Thesaurus s.v. ;* though another explanation might be found iu the legendary explanation of the name given below.

[6] Barth, *Die Nominalbildung der Semitischen Sprachen,§* 194 c. note I.

The evidence is conclusive for an earlier and more common pronunciation, Yer6shalem.' This suits the Hebrew consonants ; it is confirmed by the Septuagint and New Testament transliteration, ferousalem, and by the earliest appearance of the name in classic Greek ;[2] it appears in the Biblical Aramaic, Yerashlem,[3] and in the Hebrew contraction, Shalem.[4] It must, in fact, have been the pronunciation in ordinary use ; and if we could only abolish our senseless abuse of the letter *j* as a soft g, we might congratulate ourselves on possessing, as the French and Germans do, a close approximation to the musical Hebrew form used by prophets and psalmists.

Wriashaldm the original Hebrew form.

But there was another ancient form of the name, which has also had its tradition, lasting till the present day. In the Tell el-Amarna letters, written about B.C. 1400, in the Babylonian script and language, the spelling is U-ru (or Uru) -sa-lim.[5] On the Assyrian monuments of the eighth century, the transliteration is Ur-sa-li-immu.[5] This has descended through the Aramaic 'Urishlem,[7] occurring in a Nabatman inscription discovered by Mr. Doughty not far from Hejra, in Arabia, the Mandaic 6viro

The Babylonian Form —Urusalim.

[2] *lepotaraNnun.* See below, p. 260.

[3] t6c):170 Ezra iv. 20, 24, V. 1 ; 6– Ezra v. r4, vi. 9; Baer, b- throughout.

[4] Psalm lxxvi. 3 ; LXX. *ep Eiphi,ν;* cf. Genesis xiv. 18.

[5] Berlin collection, Nos. 103, 106, 109 ; Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna,* 306, 312, 314; Sayce, *Records of the Past,* second series, v. 6o ff., 72 *f.*

Delitzsch, *Par.* 288; Schrader, *C. 0 . T. , ii.* 214.

[7] 1:6Wilt.4; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, ii.* r, 294. The exact spot is El-Mezham. The inscription is of one tw-o.i-Nni, Nethaniah, apparently a Jewish name.

Urashelam (?), the Syriac Urishlem,' and the Arabic Aurishalamu.[2]

There are thus in the main two lines of tradition as to the original form of the name. Since the *s* of the Babylonian is to be taken as the equivalent of the Hebrew *sh,* the difference between them is confined to the first part of the word. The question to which we have to address ourselves is : Which of the two was original ? Though the distinction turns on a letter or two, it involves a matter of no little historical importance. For it opens up the larger question : Was the name of the City a native, that is a Canaanite, name, or given by the Babylonians during a period when, as we know, the Babylonian culture pervaded Palestine ?

Whether the Babylonian pr the Hebrew is the original?

Assyriologists take the first part of Uru-salim as meaning city.'[3] Sayce interprets the second part as the name of a god, and translates City of Salim.' But the determinative for deity is wanting, and the introduction of a divine name is

Meaning of Urusalim.

[1] Mandaic, tn-49vtiiiN ; Syriac,(...2L..112-.A501.

[2] : this is an old Arabic form quoted by YaVit *(111n`Zanz. d•Buldan,* ed. Wiistenfeld, 317) from a pre-Islamic poet. It occurs also in Idrisi : Robinson, *B.R.i.* 380. Robinson spells it Aurfishlim.

[3] Vielleicht ' : Delitzsch, *IV° dos Paradies?* 226 f. Others without any qualification : Sayce, *Records of the Past,* second series, v. 61 ; *Academy,* 7th February 1891 ; Haupt as below. Nestle, *Z.D.P. V. xxvii.* 155, gives Some other references.

[4] See references in last note and compare *Early History of the Hebrews, 28:* The figure and name of the god Salimmu, written in cuneiform characters, are on a gem now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. The same god, under the name Shalman, is mentioned on a stela discovered at Sidon and under that of Selamanfis in the inscriptions of Shalt Barakat, north-west of Aleppo (C1.-Ganneau, *Etudes d'd4rchlolosie Orientals,* in the *Biblioadque de I'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, cxiii. vol.* ii. 36, 48; Sayce, *F.S,B.A.* xix. 2, 74).'

opposed by Dr. Zimmern,' who, however, elsewhere admits the possibility of it.[2] Dr. Haupt translates the name in analogy to the Arabic Dar es Salam and Medinet es Salam as Place of Safety,' prsidium salutis.' He recalls the term *stronghold*[3] as applied to the town in Hebrew, and compares the name of the southernmost Babylonian port, Bab Salimeti, " safe entrance." ' Urusalim is thus a compound of the Sumerian word for "fortified place," "city," and the Semitic *Shalim*, " safety." The *u* after the *r* is the Sumerian vowel of prolongation ; the i in Urishalim (Syriac Urishlem, Arabic Aurishalamu) substitutes the i of the genitive as termination of the construct state, and is therefore more correct from a Semitic point of view.' [4]

This Babylonian form Urusalim or Urisalim Dr. Haupt takes to be the original name of the City, and the Hebrew Yerushalem or Irashalim to have been derived from it either by dissimilation, that is avoidance of the repetition of the same vowel, or as a dialectic modification ; *eri*, a dialectic form of *uru*, passing

The theory that Jerush_ alem is derived from it.

1 *Zeilschrift ffir Assyriologie*, 1891, p. 263. Sayce's argument that Salim is a divine name is based upon his reading *issuppu* in 1. 12 of Letter. 102 (of the Berlin collection), which he renders `prophecy' (of the mighty king); and on his rendering *Zurzth*, in 11. [5]4) 34 of 104, oracle' (of the mighty king) ; and on his rendering of 1. 16, Letter 106, the temple of the god Uras (whose) name (there is) 'Salim.' But Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna*, reads in 1. 12 of 102 (Wi. 179), Zu-ru-ukh, which both there and in 11. 14 and 34 (Wi. [1]. 33) of 104 (Wi. 181) Zimmern and he render 'arm' : taking the mighty King' not as a deity, but as Pharaoh. Winckler reads, Letter 106 1. 16 (numbered by him 15) differently from Sayce : (alu) Bit-Ninib.

2 *A. T.*, 3rd ed., 475.

3 In=.

4 From the Assyrian point of view Urusalim is less correct than Urisalem!—Haupt ; and he compares Penuel and Peniel. So also L.,v1.-0. 2 Chron. xx. 16 ; I Chron. vii. 2; t.41ns Kt. and t.V1-.0. 2 Chron. xxix. 14; Chron. ix. 6; and Sz.;+./r+, 1 Chron. xv. i8.

into Hebrew as (-IT). Similarly Dr. Nestle says : Since from the genealogies of Genesis I learned to equate Yaradh (iv) with 'Iradh (1-or), I have felt disappear every objection to see in Yerushalem (D9v)-0) an older Irushalem (thmv). If the letter 'Ayin (r) can vanish in the middle of a word, why not also at the beginning of a name, which often enough will be spoken together with a preposition ? ' If these arguments be sound, the name Jerusalem was not a native or Canaanite name, but given by the Babylonians during one of the early periods of the supremacy of their arms or of their culture in Palestine. And we should have to seek for the native name of the town among such as the Stronghold, Sion, the 'Ophel, or Jebus.

In itself such a conclusion is by no means impossible. There is a little evidence of the impress of Babylonian names upon Palestine: for example, N ebo, Beth `Anath, 'Anathoth, and (according to some), even Bethlehem' But this is both meagre and ambiguous, and affords no support to Dr. Haupt's theory. Indeed, if the *Bit Ninib* mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters as in the territory of Jerusalem (No. 183) be Jerusalem herself,[2] then that was the Babylonian name of the town, and Jerusalem was the native name. Nor does Dr. Haupt's theory derive support from

Supported by no external evidence and purely linguistic.

I Even Nebo, the most likely, is not certain, and for Bethlehem, in which one or two scholars trace the name of the god Lahmu, there is, to say the least, an equally probable etymology, *house* or *domain of bread.* It has, indeed, been argued that in a place-name compounded with Beth- and another word the latter is either a divine name or had a divine name attached to it in a fuller form of the word (G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names, 527,* 324). But for reasons against this argument see *The Critical Review,* 1898, 20.

2 As Haupt himself supposes, *Joshua, S.B.O. T.* (Engl.) 54 ; though Zimmern thinks this improbable, *K. A.* T, 3rd ed. 411 *n.* 4.

the fact of the survival of the form *Uri* in Aramean and Arabic ; for such a survival only proves the derivation of these forms from the Babylonian (a derivation historically probable, as the Arameans were in close intercourse with Babylonia and carried their language far into Arabia), and does not furnish independent evidence for the originality of the Babylonian form. There is, therefore, no external or independent evidence for Dr. Haupt's conclusion, which is entirely drawn from the Babylonian language.

Coming then to the linguistic evidence, we have to observe first that if the form Irushalem had been derived from Urusalim, and the equivalent in Hebrew of the Babylonian Uru be 'Ir (i v), with an initial 'ayin, we might have expected in the Hebrew name an initial 'ayin, or at least, as in the Syriac and Arabic derivations from the Babylonian, an initial 'alc.-.ph. The absence of this seems to prove that in Irushalem or Yerushalem we have a form on another line of tradition altogether than that which the Babylonian started.

Linguistic objection to it.

But more important still, Dr. Haupt's hypothesis is confronted with an alternative, for which there is some evidence in other Palestine place-names. He says that the Hebrew Yerushalem (Irushalem) was produced from Urusalim either by dissimilation or, more probably, as a dialectic variety. But not only is it equally possible on phonetic grounds that Urusalim is a corruption, by assimilation of the vowels, from Yerushalem ; there are, besides, actual instances of such a change in the Assyrian transliteration of the native names of other places in Palestine. For while it is true that the long, or otherwise well-marked,

Possible alternative—Urusalim a corruption of J erushalem.

vowels in such native names are correctly reproduced in the cuneiform transliterations, as in the cases of Lakhish, Ashdod, YaphO (Joppa) and Sidon, which in Assyrian appear as La-ki-s-u, As-du-du, Ya-ap-pu-[u], and Si-du-n[u], it is also very significant that when in a native name a weak vowel precedes a strong one, as in the first part of Yerushalem, it is very often in the Assyrian transliteration assimilated to the sound of the latter. Thus 'Edom (ni1N) becomes U-du-um[u],[1] PL'kOd (ˉTipp) Pu-ket-d[u]; [2] Bene-Berak (pirp) Ba-na-a-a-bar-ak ; and 'Elul (Saur3 the name of the month) U-lu-l[u]. Even a long vowel is sometimes assimilated to another long one as in Moab, which in one Assyrian form is Ma-'-aba ; AmmOn (tinp) which becomes Am-ma-n[u] ; [3] and the Talmudic 'Usha (NON),[4] which becomes U-s-u-[u]. An instance of assimilation is also found in the Assyrian Ma-ga-du-[u] (but elsewhere Ma-gi-du-[u]) for Megiddo, and perhaps in mi-sir and mu-sur for the name of Egypt, which the Hebrew gives as Mason The last instance reminds us that in several cases the Assyrian shows a fondness for the vowel *u*, where there does not appear to have been any trace of this in the original : as in Al-ta-ku-[u],[5] from .'Eltelsel Om*, and Gu-ubli,[6] from Gebal (*). In face of all these—really a large proportion of the few place-names of Palestine of which we possess Assyrian forms—it is clear that Urusalim may possibly have been produced by assimilation from Writ- or Iru-shalem. And this alternative to Dr. Haupt's derivation

1 Dclitzsch, *Par. 295.*
[2] The name of a tribe (Jer. I. **21 ;** Ezek. xxiii. 23).
[3] Though in this case the native pronunciation may have been 'AmmAn.
[4] Sukka, f. 2oa. [5] Del. *Par.* 288. [6] *Ibid.* 283.

has a further superiority over the latter in that it implies for Yerushalem what we find for all but a very few and doubtful place-names in Palestine, a native origin.

What the etymology of Yerushalem may be it is almost ¡mpossible to descry. Various derivations have been suggested, some ludicrous, none satisfactory. The' latter half of the word is usually taken as meaning *peace* or *security ;* but while the early rabbis and earliest Christian writers interpreted the first part as *vision* or *fear,'* modern etymologists have been divided between *the possession* and *the foundation—of peace* or *security.*[2] The resemblance of the first part of the name, *Yeru,* to the imperfect of the verb, and the composition of instances of the latter with a divine title in so many of the Palestinian place-names, suggests a similar derivation for Yet-fish'diem : as if it were from the verb Yarah, and should mean Shalem or Shalman, *founds ;* or rather, since this meaning for *yarak* is not certainly possible, *Shalem casts the lot.* On the whole however, *Shalem* is more 'probably a noun *peace* or an adjective *perfect* or *secure.* ***Yeru*** might be either a verb, *he* (the god) *casts a perfect* or *peaceful (lot),* or a noun, as if *secure lot.* There are, however, other alternatives. The

Suggested Derivations for Yerushalem-ancient and modern.

[1] There is one curious Rabbinic explanation in the *Midrash Bereshith Raba,* ch. 89. Abraham called the place ;Nit (Gen. xxii. 4), but Shem *(i.e.* Melchisedec) had called it th& (Gen. xiv.). The Almighty, unwilling to disappoint either Patriarch, gave it both names, Yireah-Shalem= Yerushalem. The numerical value of ntro and is the same. In the Greek and Latin *Onomastica* (see Lagarde, *Onom. Sacra,* and Nestle, *op. cit.* 154), Jerusalem is usually explained as *Spays elfrOns, visio pads.*

[2] n9w w17+, *possession of peace,* Reland and others ; iv (from riv, *to throw down) the foundation of peace,* Gesenius *Thes.,* Gesenius-Buhl., *Lexicon,* r2th ed. (cf. Grill, *Z. A.7'. W.* iv. 134 ff.); or *the foundation of securi* Merrill, *Bi bl. World,* 1899, 27o.

Arabic 'Arya means *abiding, continuous ; 'iryu,* a *stable* or *stall.* And there is the common Semitic root *'72r* or *to lighten,* from which we have the Hebrew *Vb.- (iv), fire* or *hearth,* and the Arabic *' LA focus* or *hearth,* and *'aunvar, to kindle.* The probability of this latter derivation is increased if we read (with Canon Cheyne and others) Isaiah's name for Jerusalem, 'Ariel,' *God's Lion,* as 'Uriel, *God's Hearth,* and suppose that the prophet formed it in analogy to the name of the City. Yerushalem would then signify *hearth of peace* or *inviolate hearth.* But all these are suppositions, none of which we have any means of proving. It is interesting that Saadya sometimes renders the name by Dar es-Salam, and sometimes by Medinat es-Salam : the House or City of Peace.[2] Worth noticing also is the suggestion that Yerushalem was originally a personal name ; as is well known, it is used as such in the present day.[3]

We have now to pursue the history of the name through Greek and Latin to the languages of modern Europe.

The Hebrew Y6rashalēm appears in the Alexandrian translation as *lepovuevrhu* (Ierousali3m): the constant form in all those books of the Greek canon which Terousah-nn have been translated from the Hebrew. As in the case of so many other proper names in the Septuagint, it is an exact transliteration of the original, made before the vowel-points were inserted in the Hebrew text, and reflecting (as we have seen) the early

nn in the Septuagint and Clearchus.

[1] XXViii. 2 ; 5N17N.

[2] Nestle, *op. cit. 154* ; cf. Medinat es-Salam, the Khalif Mansur's official name for Baghdad (Ndldekc, *Sketches from Eastern History,* 129).

2 Franz Prdtorius, *Z.D.117 G. lvii.* 782, quoted by Nestle, p. 153.

and common pronunciation of the name. The earliest appearance of this form in other Greek, which I have been able to discover, is that in a passage of Clearchus of Soli,' a pupil of Aristotle, which is quoted by Josephus? He gives it accurately, but with a Greek termination : Ierousalem-e. Since he says that it is ' altogether awkward' to pronounce—which he would hardly have asserted **of** the Hellenised form Hierosolyma—and since Josephus everywhere else uses Hierosolyma, we may be sure that in gerousalem-E ' we have the original spelling of Clearchus himself.[3] And if this be so, it is another proof of the original pronunciation of the name.[4]

In the Septuagint and the citation by Josephus from Clearchus the light breathing should probably be prefixed to Ierousalem [5] but in any case the rough breathing came early into use : Hierousalem. This may have been originally due to an effort to express the consonantal force of the first letter ;° but more probably arose from—and was at least confirmed by—the fashion prevalent in Western Asia from the third and second centuries B.C., of Hellenising proper names.

Hierousalem.

End of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C.

[2] **a** *Apion, i.* 22: Td Sl 7733 ir6Xeer *ahr'W' ;, (i.e. of 'IouSa'ioc) tivoua raP'u axoXt&* *&TLV IepovcraXiMP Thp &ITO xaXolicap.* In the meantime the initial breathing is purposely omitted from IepoocraXmon.

[3] Therefore Niese's note—' suspectum '—to the reading *lepoveaNnm* (see Index to Niese's ed. of Jos. *s.v.)* is unnecessary.

[4] See above, p. 252.

[5] The edd. of the LXX. (except Swete's), and Niese's ed. of Jos., prefix the *Spiritus asper.* But in his ed. of the LXX. and *Introd. to the O.T. in Greek* Swete gives the light breathing, pp. 305, 313: and so Reinach in the excerpt from Clearchus *(Textes d' Auteurs Grecs et Remains relatifs an Judaisme,* p. II), but Muller *(Fret:. Hist. Gr.* ii. 323) the rough.

[°] Yet initial *yod* is usually transliterated with the light breathing *(e.g. 'IopScivns,'Incrois's, etc.)* except in such Helleniscd forms as `Iepol3o4.4,'Iepetusis.

To the same source we may trace the further modification of the name into the plural noun *lepoo-6Xvi.ta* (with or without the article), Hierosolyma. When this first appeared it is impossible to discover. The earliest, directly recorded, instances of it, so far as I can trace, belong to the first century B.C. In Maccabees ii.-iv., in which the Septuagint spelling of proper names is so often followed,' we find not 'Ierousalem but gerosolynaa ; and so in the ' Letter of Aristeas ' [2] (date doubtful) and in Strabo, quoting probably from an author **who** wrote soon after the Syrian campaign of Pompey in 63 B.C.[3] In Latin Cicero has it,[4] and subsequent writers, **for** example Pliny, Tacitus and Suetonius :° still in a plural form Hierosolyma. It was therefore in common use from the first century B.c. onwards. But it appears so uniformly in quotations from earlier Greek writers,° that

IIierosolyma.

[1] Swete, *mired.* 313.

[3] Both with and without the article. See Thackeray's ed. in Swete's *Infra* pp. 525 f. In this edition of Aristeas the rough breathing is prefixed ; and it is a question whether the rough breathing should not also be prefixed in Maccabees ii. -iv., as in Tischendorf's ed. Swete gives the light breathing.

' See Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 97. It occurs, too, in Philo *(Legal. ad Cajuns,* § 23), Plutarch, and so through Appian *(Syr.* 5o), Dion Cassius, *Hist. Ron:. (xxxvii. x5 f.,* etc.), and subsequent writers : always as a plural and generally with the article. The edd. give the rough breathing.

[°] *Pro Flacco,* c. 28 §§.68 f.

Pliny, *H.N. v. 14f. ;* Tac. Hi. ii. 4, v. 1 ; Suet. *Tit. 5.* We find it also on an inscription in the time of Claudius: [Hijerosolymitana *(Corp. Inscr. lat.* X. No. 1971).

From Hecataeus of Abdera (c. 30o n.c.), in a fragment of Diodorus Sic. preserved by Photius ; from Manetho (third cent. B. c.) in Jos. *C. Ap. i.* 24 1.; Berosus (under Antiochus Soter, 28o-261 B.C.) in Jos. *C. Ap.* i. 19; from Menander of Ephesus (probably early in second century n.c.), and Dios (?) in Jos. viii. *Ant. v. 3,* cf. *C. Ap. i. 17 ;* from Agatharchides of Cnidus (under Ptolemy VI., 182-146 B.C.) in Jos. *C. Ap. i.* 22; from Polybius (o. 210-128 n.c.) in Jos. xvi. *Ant.* iii. 3 ; from Timochares (probably second Century B.C.); Xenophon the topographer (? before the first century 13.c.), and Philo the Elder,' a poet—all three in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* ix. 35,

we are justified in tracing its origin to some distance behind the first century ; and all the more so that the materials for its formation were present in Greek literature and were quoted in connection with the Jews as early as the fifth century B.C. Josephus, who in his Hellenic fashion constantly employs the form Hierosolymal- though he must have known better—derives it more than once[2] from Solyma, that is the Salem of Melchisedec.[8] He spells it Solyma because Greek writers had already used this shorter form and found for it an etymology of their own. He quotes[4] the Greek poet Choerilos, who, he thinks, in the fifth century B.C. had spoken of the Judxan range as the Solyman mountains ' ;[5] and Manetho,e who speaks of the Hebrews, leaving Egypt, as the Solymites.[7] It was natural for classic writers to identify this name with that of the Lycian Solymi mentioned by Homer.[8] This appears to have been the origin of the form Hiero- solyma, though we cannot help wondering if its resem- blance to the name of Solomon had anything to do with

36, 37, cf. 20, 24; from Posidonius of Apamea (c. 135-51 B.c.), in Diod. Sic. xxxiv. (preserved by Photius). The historical Greek writers quoted here are all given in Mtiller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.* But the student will find more convenient the collection of these extracts, and of those of pagan Latin writers given above and below, which has been drawn up by Theod. Reinach in his useful *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Juolaisme,* Paris, 1895.

[1] Both with and without the article : e.g. *Ant.* V. ii. 2; VII. ii. 2, iii. **2; VIII. x. 2, 4 ; X. vii. I** ; XI. i. I, 3, iii. 1, 10, iv. 2, v. 6, 8.

[2] **I.** *Ant.* X. 2 : 6 7-141 ZoXvi.Ca *(3aCTAEOS :* 737P *AuPTOL OXVIA,(1, VO* ***TepOP*** *?Kam)* *'Iepocr6Xuna.* vi. ***B.f.*** x. 1.

[3] ***C. Apion,*** l. 22.

[4] *C. Apion,* i. 26.

[5] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist. v.* **2. Jos. VII.** *Ant. iii.* 2: tin •*yitp 'Appluou . . Z6)ttyha incadro, /sera raOra 86 atrrhv Octoi* ***rover, 871*** *xal"Ounpos TOW* ***CriP6A4a00*** *lepor6Xvioz•* ra *yip Lep&* xarti *'Bppatwp* 7Xiarrap *tavaitare* ***Ta. 26X11/14,*** *lanv* do"q5kNeta.

[6] 'EP ZOX40/4 *6pecrtp.*

[7] 01 *ZoXviiirai.*

[8] Gen. xiv.

its rapid acceptance?. The form Solyma, which Josephus also uses as a feminine singular (indeclinable), appears as a plural neuter in Martial,[3] and as an adjective, Solymus, in Valerius Flaccus, Statius, and Juvenal[4]—all at a time when the siege by Titus had made the name of the city very familiar throughout the Roman world. In Greek, Pausanias, in 175 A.D., also gives the form Solyma.[8]

So much, then; for the history of a false form. It is curious to observe that the one pagan writing in which the correct spelling, *lEpovo-005/L,* is found (except the extract from Clearchus), is that ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to the pedantic Emperor Julian.°

The New Testament employs both forms, *Iepovo-a/v4p,* and *lepoo¯Axpa.* The former (indeclinable) is used mostly in the writings of Luke (about twenty-seven times in the Gospel and forty in Acts, as against the use of *lepoa 6Xvkca* four times in the Gospel and over twenty in Acts[7]) and Paul ; also in the Apocalypse and Hebrews. Grimm[8] has suggested that it has been selected where a certain sacred significance is intended,° or in solemn appeals[10] It has the article only when accompanied by an adjective.[11] The form *lepocrOXvika* appears as a singular feminine only once.[12] Elsewhere it is a neuter plural, as in Josephus

lepovecxXvL and IepocroNviza in the New Testament.

[1] Compare Menander of Ephesus : ZoN6Att.n" *6 'lepoo-oX6puev* pao-tNeas; and Dios : *rupavviop'1. ZoX6tuov ;* both quoted in Jos. VIII. *Ant. v. 3,* and *C. Ap.* I, 17 f.

[2] Above, p. 262 *0.* 2.

[3] *Epigram.* xi. 94 (written in 96 A.D.).

[4] Val. Flaccus (fl. 70-90 A.D.), *Argonautica,* i. 13 ; Statius, V. 2, 138 ; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 544.

[5] *Perieg. viii.* 16, 4.

[6] *,Oist.* **25.**

[7] Knowling on Acts i. 4.

[8] *Lex. s.v.*

Gal. iv. 25.

[10] Matt. xxiii. 37 ; Luke xiii. 34. Add Luke xxiii. 28.

[11] Winer, *Gram.,* E.T., 125 ; yet see Acts v. 28.

[12] Matt. ii. 3. Here, as in Matt. iii. 5, it stands for the inhabitants of the city.

and Greek writers ; so in all the Gospels,' and Acts and Galatians. It occurs only in John with the article in the oblique cases.[2] It is doubtful whether either of the two forms should have the aspirate. Blass gives it to the Greek alone; Westcott and Hort deny it to both.

Following the Greek Testament the Vulgate has both. the Hebrew and Greek forms, in some codices with the aspirate, in some without : Hierusalem and Hierosolyma, Ierusalem and Ierosolyma (fern. and neut.); these continue through theChristian centuries. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux[3] and Eucherius write Hierusalem ; Eusebius, *`Iepovcra Xvik ;* Jerome, Ierusalem, Iero- and Hiero-solyma (fem. and neut.: Lag. *Onom. Sacr.);* Antoninus[5] and Arculf,[6] Hierosolima ; Willibald, Bernard and Theodoric,[7] Ierusalem ; Chroniclers of the Crusades, Hierosolyma and Hierusalem and Ierusalem ;[8] documents of the Crusades, Hierosolyma.[2] The earliest French writings have Iherusalem,[10] Jerusalem, Jerusalen, and Jerusalam.[11] Barbour's *Brus*[12] has Ierusalem, and Spenser's *Faerie Queene,*[13] Hierusalem. The English Authorised Version of 1611 has Ierusaleni

Forms of the name in Christian literature.

eg. Matt. xx. 17 ; xxi. 1. (?); Mark iii. 8 ; Luke xxiii. 7 ; John ii. 23, v. 2. *lepocroXvua* always in Mk. and John.

[2] John V. 2, X. 22, xi. 18. So Winer, *op. cit.* p. 125. John v. r the ace. is without the article. On the whole N.T. use see Zahn, *Einl. i. d. N. T.* ii. **311.**

[3] 333 **A.D.** [4] **C. 427.440.** [5] ***c.* 570.** [5] 680.

[7] **Wi1., C. 722 ;** Bern., 867 ; Theod., c. 1172.

[8] Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Frances.*

[9] Rdhricht, *Regesta Regni Iiieros.*

[10] In the *Cite de Ih.,* 2187.

[11] *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte,* from the end of the twelfth century; but in a revised form of somewhat later date (edited by Gaston Paris, 1897).

[12] **iv. 29.** [13] Bk. ,. canto x. 57.

in the Old Testament and Apocrypha, but Hierusalem in the New Testament.'

Thus Jerusalem (with some variants) comes to be the form in the languages of Europe. Hierosolyma, and the shortened Solyma, treated now as feminine, appear occasionally in poetry and romance.

We have seen that an early Arabic form of the name was 'Aurishalamu, of which also there were abbreviations Shalamu and Shallamu.[2] The Arabs, however (as we shall see in next chapter), commonly designate the City by epithets expressive of its sanctity, el Mukaddas, el Kuds, and the like. But modern Jews, Levantines, and native Christians throughout Palestine frequently use Yerusalem.[3]

The Arabic forms.

1 On the use of the name in the Latin Version of the N.T., see Wordsworth and White, *Houma Test. . . . Latine sec. ed. S. Hieronymi,* notes to Marc. iii. 8, Luc. ii. 22, Ioh. i. 19, and Index.

[2] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* 83.

[3] *Z.D.P.V.* xvii. 257.

CHAPTER X

OTHER NAMES FOR THE CITY

FROM first to last a number of other names and epithets have been given to Jerusalem, either derived, like Jebus, from her lords previous to Israel ; or like Sion, extended from some point within her site ; or expressive of her sanctity, like the series founded on the root K-D-SEI ; or imposed by her conquerors, like Aelia Capitolina and its derivatives. Of one of these, Sion, we have already traced the progress from its original use for the citadel on the East Hill to its extension over the whole City and the sacred community.' The others will be described in this chapter.

Other names for the City, of various origins.

Of the first of them little requires to be said. We will discuss elsewhere the name of the Jebusite predecessors of Israel.[2] In Judges xix. To f., and in I Chronicles xi. 4 E, the name Jebus[3] is applied to the City : *the same is Jerusalem.* There is, however, no other instance of it in the Old Testament, and its appearance in these two passages has been suspected. The second is certainly late, the work of the Chronicler about 300 B.C., and there is cause to doubt the integrity of the text of the first. The town, we know, had long before the time of the Judges been called Jerusalem ; and

Jebus.

[3] See above, ch. vi.

[3] LXX. Ieflour.

[2] See below, Bk. at. ch. i.

when a second name appears only in what are probably late texts, the inference is reasonable that it has been suggested by the name of the tribe which Israel found in possession of the site. At the same time, there can be no doubt about the Jebusites themselves—they are accredited by every line of the Hebrew tradition—nor that they held a certain amount of territory round their fortress. To this territory the name Jebus may easily have been given in the common speech both of the Canaanites and the Hebrews ; and it would be rash to assert that it was never used of the town, and is only a late and artificial suggestion. In such uncertainty we must leave the question.[1]

Another possibly mistaken application of an ancient name to Jerusalem may be mentioned here. The chronicler calls the Temple Hill, *Mount of the Moriah, where a vision was made unto David* [2] (?). Josephus identifies it with the place in *the land of the Moriah,*[3] where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac,[4] and this was also a Rabbinic tradition.[5] Accordingly Mount Moriah has become a usual name among both Jews and Christians for at least the East Hill of Jerusalem. But, in the first place, Abraham's *land of the Moriali* (if that be the proper reading, which is doubtful)[5] is unknown, the identification of it with the Temple Mount is very

Mount Moriah.

1 See G. F. Moore, *Judges (International Critical Commentary), 0895;* K. Budde, *Des Buck der Richter (Kurzer Hand-Commentar),* 1897 ; S. R. Driver, Jams,' in Hastings's *D.B. ;* G. A. Smith, *Enc. Bibl.* col. 2416 ; II. Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 638.

[2] 2 Chron. 1[4]1-6 nt.2-1) 1t1JN rPnbn in.

[2] Gen. xxii. 2.

[4] Josephus, i. *Ant. xiii.* i, 2 : r1 *MWpcov* tpos.

Levy, *Neuhebr, u. Chald. WOrterbuch,* iii. 58 ; *Bereshitk Rabbath.*

[0] See Driver's *Genesis.*

late, being ignored even by the Chronicler ; and the Chronicler's own use of the name, to which he gives another origin, is also late and unsupported by any earlier passage in the Old Testament. Whatever place it belongs to, the name probably has nothing to do with vision.

Next in order we may conveniently refer to two foreign designations, both by conquerors of Judah. At the head of the list which Shishak [1] gives of the cities he took in Judah, stands the name *Rabbat,* with which some have suitably identified Jerusalem ; [2] for the word means chief town' or capital.' And by the time that the Israelite territory had so shrunk as to become the mere suburbs of Jerusalem, Asarhaddon called Manasseh king not of the land, but of *the City, of Judah.*[3]

Rabbat (7) and the City of Judah.

A number of names and epithets given by the Prophets and Psalmists may now be mentioned. Isaiah addresses *Jerusalem* as *'Arie1,*[4] which as it stands may mean *The Lion of God,* and is often so translated. But as in Ezekiel the same word is used for *the altar-hearth,*[5] and as Isaiah himself speaks elsewhere of God having a *fire in Sion* and a *furnace in Jerusalem,*[6] and in his inaugural vision beheld the Divine Presence above the burning altar of the Temple, it is more probable

O.T. Epithets: Ariel.

I See below, Bk. in. ch. iv.

[2] Sayce, *Academy,* 1891, Feb. 4 and 28.

[3] *Records of the Past,* cf. 2 Chron. xxv. 28 ; the parallel passage, 2 Kings xiv. 28, has *city of David.*

[4] xxix. 1.:

5 Ezek. xliii. 15 f. (Kethibh) ; cf. 7H7K on the Moabite stone, lines 12, 17. Cf. above on the Arabic 'Irat or 'Iryat= hearth,' p. 259.

xxxi. 9, unless, as some think, this is a later addition.

that the name means *the hearth of God.* The Hebrew *Bath* or *Daughter* is often applied to the popu- Daughter of lation of a town or country, and in this sense we are to take as names of Jerusalem the following : *Daughter of people,*[3] *Daughter of Jerusalem,?. Daughter of my Virgin daughter of ..Cion.*[4] Also it is called *The City of Righteousness* by Isaiah,[5] and by the Psalms *The City of God,* or *of Our God,* or *of Jahweh of Hosts,* or *of the Great King.*[6]

City of Righteousness and of God.

By the time of the Exile Jerusalem had come to be known among her people as *The City,* in distinction from *The Land;*[7] and this is usual also in the Mishna. It is significant of the growth of her importance both material and spiritual, and of the absence of other cities in the rest of the now much diminished territory. Townships there were, and not a few fenced ones ; but Jerusalem stood supreme and alone as The City.

The City.

In Deuteronomy Jerusalem is not named, but frequently implied as *the place where Jahweh will cause His Name to dwell.*[8] This concentration of the national worship upon her Temple, preceded as it had been by Isaiah's visions of the divine presence, and his declaration of God's purposes for His

The Holy city 114-

[1] Lam. ii. 1 ; iv. 22 ; Isa. lii. 2, etc. On this name see above, pp. 148 ff.

[2] Isa. xxxvii. 22 ; Lam. ii. 13, Is, etc. s Lam. iv. 6.

[4] Isa. xxxvii. 22 ; Lam. ii. 13. [5] i. 26.

Psa. xlvi. 4 ; xlviii. I, 2, 8 (the references are to the English Bible); cf. lx. 54.

[7] Ezek. vii. 23 ; Jer. xxxii. 24 f. ; Ps. lxxii. 16 *(they of the City)-1 T. il•* Isa. lxvi. 6 (11*

[3] Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 : *dwelling place of Thy Name.*

inviolable shrine, led to the name *The Holy City,'Ir hak-KodesAl* (compare *My Holy Mount*[2]*);* and from this has started the long series of names meaning the same in many languages, which has continued to the present day. On the coins which are variously assigned to Simon Maccabaeus and to the First Jewish Revolt (66-70 A.D.), the legend is *Yerushalaim .lacloskah,* or *H4-Ifedoshah,* Jerusalem the Holy. Matthew twice calls it 'H `A.7/a rIats[5]—so still, in the Mosaic Map of Medeba (sixth Christian century). Philo has lep67roXis,[4] a form which suggests the origin of the form *`lepoc6Xvica* (with the rough breathing).[5] So in Arabic the commonest designation is derived from the same Semitic root for *holy,* K-D-S. It appears in various forms *Bet el-.1114dis,* el-Mukaddas 'domain or place of the Sanctuary' ; *el lliuk ad-clas* or *el Mukaddis, 'the* Holy' ;[6] or (in the modern vernacular) *el-Kuds esh-Sheril,* or more briefly *El-Kucls,'* The Sanctuary.' In the East this is by far the commonest name to-day.[7] The suggestion made by M. Clermont-Ganneau[8] that el-Mul5addas or el-Kuds betrays a reminiscence of a dedication of the sanctuary at Jerusalem to a Canaanite deity Kadish is interesting, 'but there is no evidence for it. And the derivation of the name from the immemorial sanctity of the City is sufficient.

el-xuas.

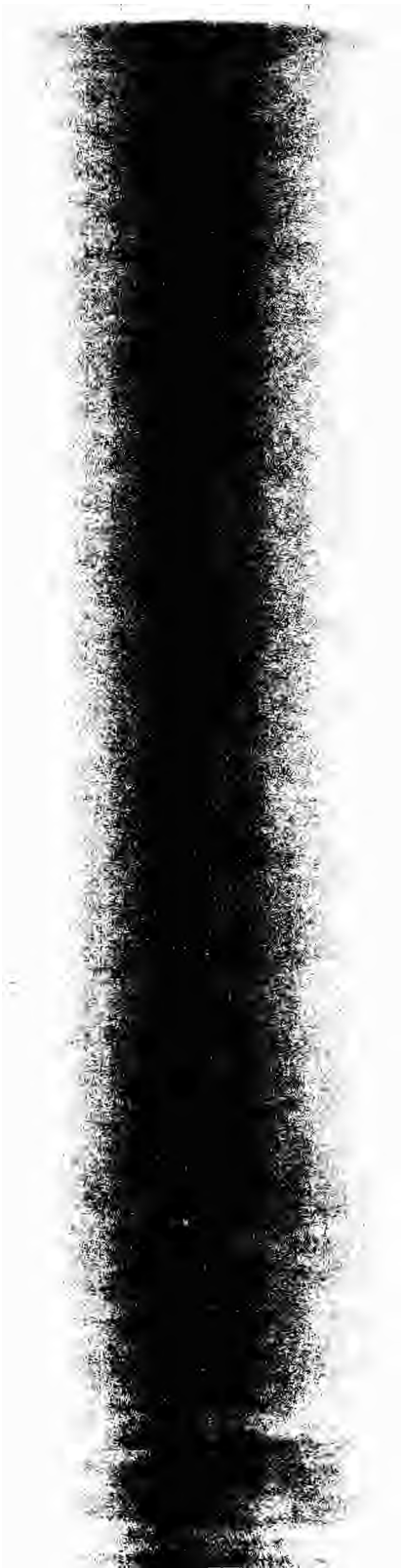
To complete this list of names we may add, though it really lies beyond our period, the name imposed on

Isa. xlviii. 2 ; lii, i ; Neh. xi. 1 ; cf. Dan. ix. 24.
[2] Joel ii. i. [3] Matt. iv. 5 ; xxvii. 53.
[4] *In Flaccuin, § 7.* [5] See above, pp. 261 ff.
[6] Yakut, iv. 590 ; Taj el 'Arus, iv. 214.
[7] Cf. the Syriac *./(utisch, Indusch,* or *lnethisch.*
Archao. Researches in Palestine, L i86.

Jerusalem by her Roman conquerors. When the Emperor Hadrian destroyed so much of the City and gave her another shape than that of her native growth, he strove also to destroy the native name by substituting *Aelia Cafitolina.*[1] Till the time of Constantine, and for at least two centuries later, *Aelia* remained the official name[2] and usual geographical designation ;[3] was still longer continued in Christian writings ;[4] and even passed over into Arabic as *'Iliya.*[6] From the other part of Hadrian's name came Ptolemy's KarvroXias.

Aelia Capjtâs,

I Dion Cassius, lxix. 12. On the coins of Hadrian (and his successors down to Valerian) bearing the legend Col[onia] Kapit[olina] and the like, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews,* ed. 1903, ch. xi. Aelia was from Hadrian's own family name, Capitolina from Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom he erected a temple on the site of the Jewish Temple.
[2] *e.g.* in Canons of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, vii. ; and in Acts of Synod held in Jerusalem, A.D. 536 (cited by Robinson, *B.R.* ii. 9).
[3] *Onomasticon ;* Eusebius, AiMa ; Jerome, Aelia.
[4] *E.g.* Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis, i.* 21.
[6] Yakut, iv. 592.



BOOK *I*

THE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

arose a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews, the twelve called *the multitude together,* and when they had made their proposals, *the saying pleased the whole multitude,* and they chose the seven deacons.' *The Multitude* is the name for the Christian community at Antioch.[2] The same Greek term which Luke uses for the populace of Greek cities[3] and for the men of Israe1,[4] he applies to the body of the faithful in Christ Jesus.

[1] Acts vi. : rL *irkiNos.* [2] *xv.* 30; cf. verse xii.
[3] xiv. 4 ; xix. 9, etc.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

Ant. . .	*Antiquitatum Judaicarurn Libri xx., by* Josephus. Vols. i.-iv. of his works in Niese's edition. Berlin, 1887-9o.
Arch. Res. . . Archeological Researches in Palestine,	1873.74, by C. Clermont-Ganneau, LL. D. London : Pal. Expl. Fund, vol. i., 1899; vol. ii., 1896.
Assyr. Wort. . Assyrisches Handworterbuch,	by Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1896.
Baedeker(5) . .	Fifth edition of *Piilastina rind Syrien, Handbuch fur Reisende, by* I. Benzinger (1st and 2nd edd. by Socin). Leipzig: Baedeker, 1900.
Bib. Geogr. Pal. Bibliotheca Geographica Palrestinet,	by R. Riihricht. Berlin, 1890.
B. I. .	*De Bello Judaico Libri vii.,* by Josephus, vol. vi. of Niese's ed. Berlin, 1894.
B. L. . .	*Bibel.Lexikon.*
B.R. . .	*Biblical Researches,* by Edward Robinson. London, 1841.
C.	*Circa.*
C. Apion.	*De Judceorum Vetustate sive Contra Apionem Libri* by Josephus. Vol. v. of Niese's ed. Berlin, 5889.
Chald. Worter-lChaldiiisches Worterbuch,	by J. Levy, 3rd ed. Leipzig, *buck . . .f* 1866.
Comp. Geog. of The Comparative Geography of Palestine,	by Carl Ritter. *Ial. . f* Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1866.
D.	Various Deuteronomic Portions of the Old Testament.
D.B. • . • . Dictionary of the Bible.	Hastings' *D.B.,* Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1898-1904; Smith's *D.B.(2)* (sometimes *B.D.),* 2nd ed. London (Murray), 1893.
E.	The Elohist Document of the Hexateuch.
Enc. Bib'. .	*Encyclopedia Biblica,* edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. London (A. and C. Black), 1899-1903.
Etym. Stud.	*Etymologische Studien. emit Semitischen . . . Lexicon, by* J. Barth. Leipzig, 1893.

Excay. at Jerus. *Excavations at Jerusalem 1894.1897,* by F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie. Publ. by Committee of the Pal. Explor. Fund. London, 1898.

Eras: His 1.1Fragmenta Historicorunt Gracorum, by C. and T. *Grcec. . . . J* Paris (Didot), 1841-51.

G. A . P. . *Geographie des Allen Paldstina,* by F. Buhl. Leipzig. 1896.

Geog.. . *Geographica,* by Strabo : ed. by G. Kramer, Berlin, 185x; another ed. by A. Kora, Paris, 1815, etc.

Geog. Lex. . . Geographisches Lexikon (Mu`jam el-Buldan), by Yals,fit, ad, Witstenfeld. Leipzig, 1866.

Gesch. . . . Geschichte (Schiirer's, Guthe's, Stade's, and WellhausenV.

Gesch. tat . . . Third edition of *Geschichte des judischen Volkes im alter Jesu Christi,* by E. Schtirer. Leipzig, 1906. See also *Hist.*

Gesc h. d.1Geschichte des Konigreichs Jerusalem **(1100-1291 A.D.),** *Konigr. Jerus. J* by R. Rohricht. Innsbruck, 1898.

Golgotha . *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre,* by (the late) Major. General Sir Charles W. Wilson, K.C.B., etc. ; ed. by Colonel Sir C. M, Watson. London (Pal. Expl. Fund), 1906.

Gram. . *A Grammar of the New Testament Diction,* by G. B. Winer, trans. by E. Masson. Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 1859.

Hebr. Arch. *Hebriiische Archdologie, by* I. Benzinger. Freiburg-i.- 3. 5894 ; 2nd ed. 1907.

H.G.H. L. . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* by the present writer. London (Hodder and Stoughton), 1894; 13th ed., 1906.

Hist.. . Wellhausen's. See *Pral.*

Hist. ..... Schiirer's. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Edinburgh (T. and T. Clark), 589o, being the Eng. trans(. of the 2nd ed. of the work given above against *Gesch.(').*

Hist.. . William of Tyre's *Historia Rerum in partibus !rant. marinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad A.D. mclxxxiv., edita a venerabili WillerYnar Tyrensi archiepiscopo ;* in the *Recuei I des Hulot lens des Croisades : Historians Occidentaux.* Tome Pr, Paris, $^{18}44$.

H.N. . . *Cali Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri xxxvii,* Paris, 1685.

Isr. u. Gesch. *und Jiidische Geschichte,* by J. Wellhausert. f Berlin, 1894. See also *Gesch.*

J. ..... The Jahwist Document of the Hexateuch.

K.A. *Die Keiliuschriften tend das Atte Testament,* by E. Schrader ; 3rd ed. by Zimmern and II. Winckler. Berlin, 1903.

Kidd.' ' Kiddushin, tractate of the Mishna and Talmud.

L. and B. . . *The Land and the Book,* by W. M. Thomson. London (Nelson and Sons), 1877.

L. B. R. *Later Biblical Researches,* by Edward Robinson. London (Murray), 1856.

Luc. . Lucian's Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures.

LXX. . The Greek or Septuagint Version of the Hebrew Scriptures, ed. by H. B. Swete : *The 0. T. in Greek according to the Septuagint.* Cambridge, 1887.94.

LXXA. Codex Alexandrinus of the same.

LXX B. . . . Codex Vaticanus of the same.

LXXX . . . Codex Sinaiticus of the same.

Mater. cur To- pop'. des Alt. ferns.. . . } and similar abbreviations, *ItlaterialWn cur Topographie des Allen. Jerusalem,* by A. Kuemmel, Halle (Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Paliistinas). 1906.

M.u.N.D.P. V. *Mittheilungen tend Nachrichten des Deutschen Palastina Vereins.* Leipzig (Baedeker).

Nenkebr. Wer-iNeuhebraisches is. Chald. Wiirterbuck, terbuck . . . by J. Levy. 1 Leipzig, 1876.

IV. Sem. fuser. *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions,* by G. A. Cooke. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1903.

01•10111. Sacr. *Eusebii Pamphili . . . Onomasticou . . . Graeae cum Latina Hieronymi interpretatione,* edition of Larsow and Parthey : Berlin, 1862 ; also in *Onomaslica Sacra* by P. de Lagarde, 2nd ed., Gottingen, 1887.

0. T.J. C. . *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church,* by W. Robertson Smith. 2nd ed. London (A. and C. Black), 1892.

P. . . . . The Priestly Document of the Hexateuch.

Pal. under the(Moslems . . *Palestine wider the Moslems,* by Guy lc Strange. London f (for the Pal. Expl. Fund), 1890.

P. E.F. Large Map • " ' *Map of Western Palestine in* 26 *sheets, by* C. R. Cornier and II. Kitchener, 1872-77. Scale, one inch to the mile. London, Pal. Explor. Fund, 1880.

P. E. F. Mem. ' Jerus. – . If *The Survey of Western Palestine* (Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund), the Jerusalem volume by Warren and Conder. London, $^{188}4$.

P E F Q *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* published at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street, London, W.

Phys. Geog. . *Physical Geography of the Holy Land,* by Edward Robinson. London (Iklurray), 1865.

Plans of Jertt- salem . . . 1 For these, see vol. i. p. **211.**

Prcep. .Evang. *Praparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius, ed. Wilford. Oxford, 1843.

Prot. (also sometimes *Hist.*) *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* by J. Wellhansen, translated by J. S. Black and A. Menzies. Edinburgh (A. and C. Black), 1885.

R.E. *Real. Enc. . .* *Realeneyclofiddie fuer Protestantische Theologie und Xireht,* edited by A. Hauck. Vol. viii. Leipzig, 1900.

Recov. of ferns. *Recovery of Jerusalem,* by C. W. Wilson, C. Warren, and others. London, 1871.

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JERUSALEM

THE TOPOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 70

BY

GEORGE ADAM SMITH
D.D., LL.D. —
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE, LITERATURE
AND THEOLOGY, UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW

M TWO VOLUMES

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFATORY NOTE TO VOLUME II.

THIS volume contains Book III. of the present work—the History of Jerusalem, with such portions of the topography as are proper to particular periods. The size to which the volume has grown has rendered necessary the omission of a detailed history of the City through the Roman period and of a separate chapter on the siege by Titus. But in the last two chapters of Book II. a summary has already been given of the principal political events under the Romans and during the War of Independence, thus bringing the history down to 70 A.D.

I regret that the first proof of Chapter xiv. on the Rest of the Persian Period was corrected before Dr. Sachau's publication of the three papyri from Elephantine, and that in consequence I was unable to make any but the briefest allusion to these very important documents. They confirm the chronology adopted in Chapter xiii., that Nehemiah lived under the first Artaxerxes. But it has been impossible to discuss their bearing on the critical questions of the age of the Pentateuch. With regard to these I need state only one remarkable result of the discovery of the papyri. It has convinced Professor Noldeke, who has so long resisted the Graf-Welihausen hypothesis, of the impossibility of

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assigning the close of the Pentateuch to an earlier date than that of Ezra *(Zeitschrift fair Assyriologie,* January 1908). Professor NOldeke does not discuss how far the papyri affect the question of the date of Deuteronomy, a question which I hope to have other opportunities of discussing. I also regret that Professor Kittel's *Studien zur Hebrdischen Archaologie and Religionsgeschichte,* containing treatises on the Rock es-Sakhra, the Serpent-stone in the Kidron Valley and the movable lavers in Solomon's Temple (Leipzig, igo8), did not come into my hands till after this volume was passed for press.

In the History I have thought right to give a more exact transliteration of the Hebrew proper names than the conventional English spelling adopted in Volume I. ; but some of the more important names, such as Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, I have left in their familiar forms. I have also altered one or two forms of reference to ancient works : for instance, the document cited in Volume L as the Pseudo-Aristeas appears in this volume as the Letter of Aristeas.

To the list given in the Preface of those to whom I have been indebted for assistance in the preparation of this work, I wish to add the names of my colleague Professor Denney, whose suggestions on the New Testament period have been very helpful ; Dr. D. M. Ross of Glasgow, Professor C. A. Scott of Cambridge, Dr. John Kelman of Edinburgh, and Mr. W. Menzies of Glasgow. I also thank, for the care and ability with which they have treated the somewhat intricate materials, the compositors and proof-readers of Messrs. T. and A. Constable, the printers of these volumes ; and I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton and to Mr. J. Sinclair Armstrong of New York for their great patience with the many delays in the completion of the work, as well as for their generosity in the matter of its illustrations.

I call the attention of the reader to the list of Additions and Corrections to Vol. I. inserted in that volume ; and to the list of those to Vol. H. on page xiv. I regret that the Appendix referred to on pages 327, 331, 333, and 334 has been crowded out.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

GLASGOW,
7/li Aril 1908.

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68, footnote 2: xi. *read* xli.
97, line 18 : *delete* second.
575, footnote : **I** Kings *read* 2 Kings.
253, line 25 : *read* `Ebed-Melek.
253, footnote 2: *read xxxviii.* 53.
278, footnote 3 : the last sentence belongs to the next footnote.
285, verse IT : for It read It.
309, footnote 6: see, however, 2 Chron. iv. 9.
327, lines 16 ff. The Appendix referred to in these passages has been
331, footnote 5. crowded out. Instead of it I beg to refer the reader to
333, footnote r. my article on the subject, *Expositor,* July i906.
334, line 9·

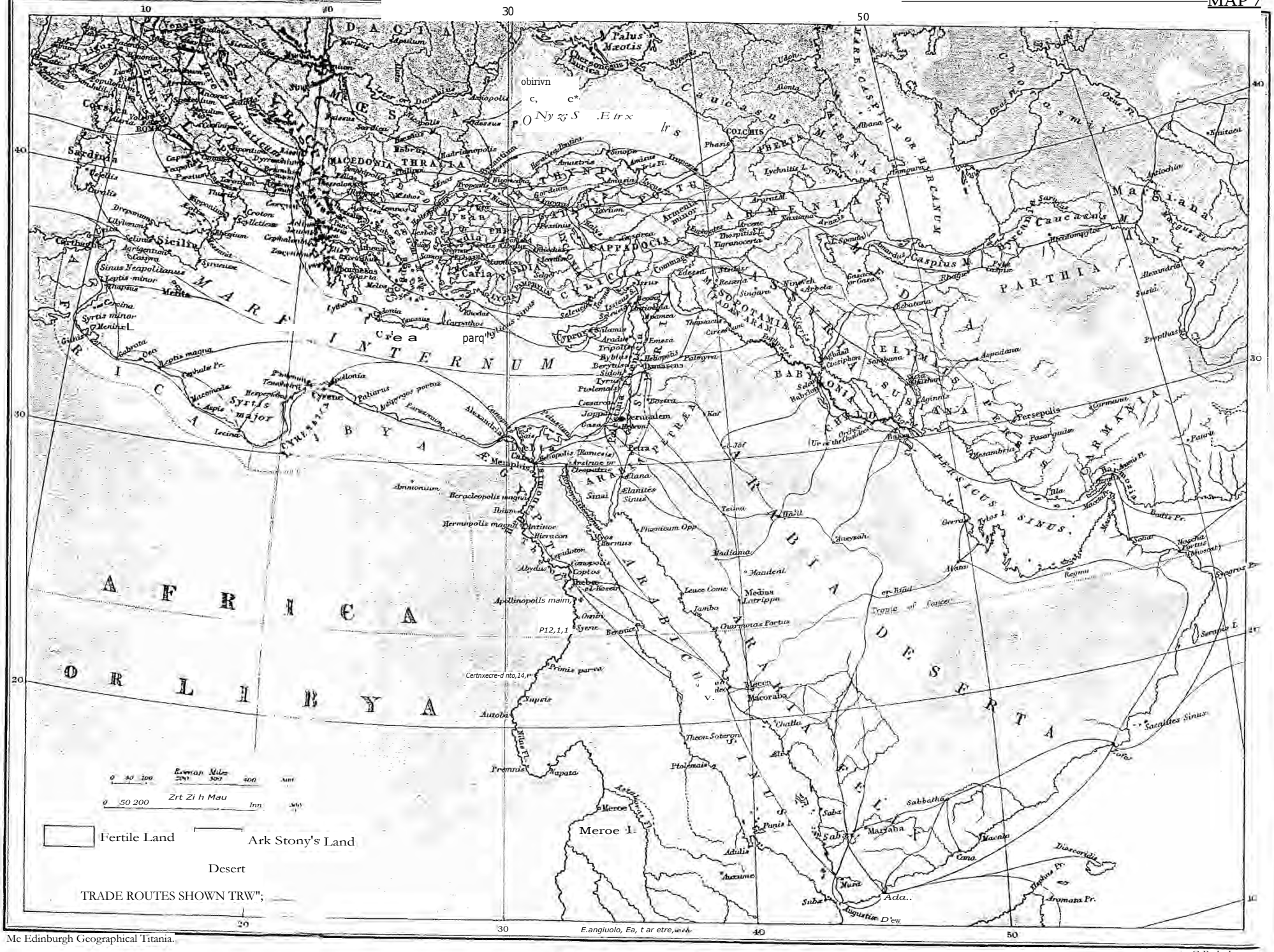
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ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES IN CONNECTION WITH JERUSALEM

MAP 7

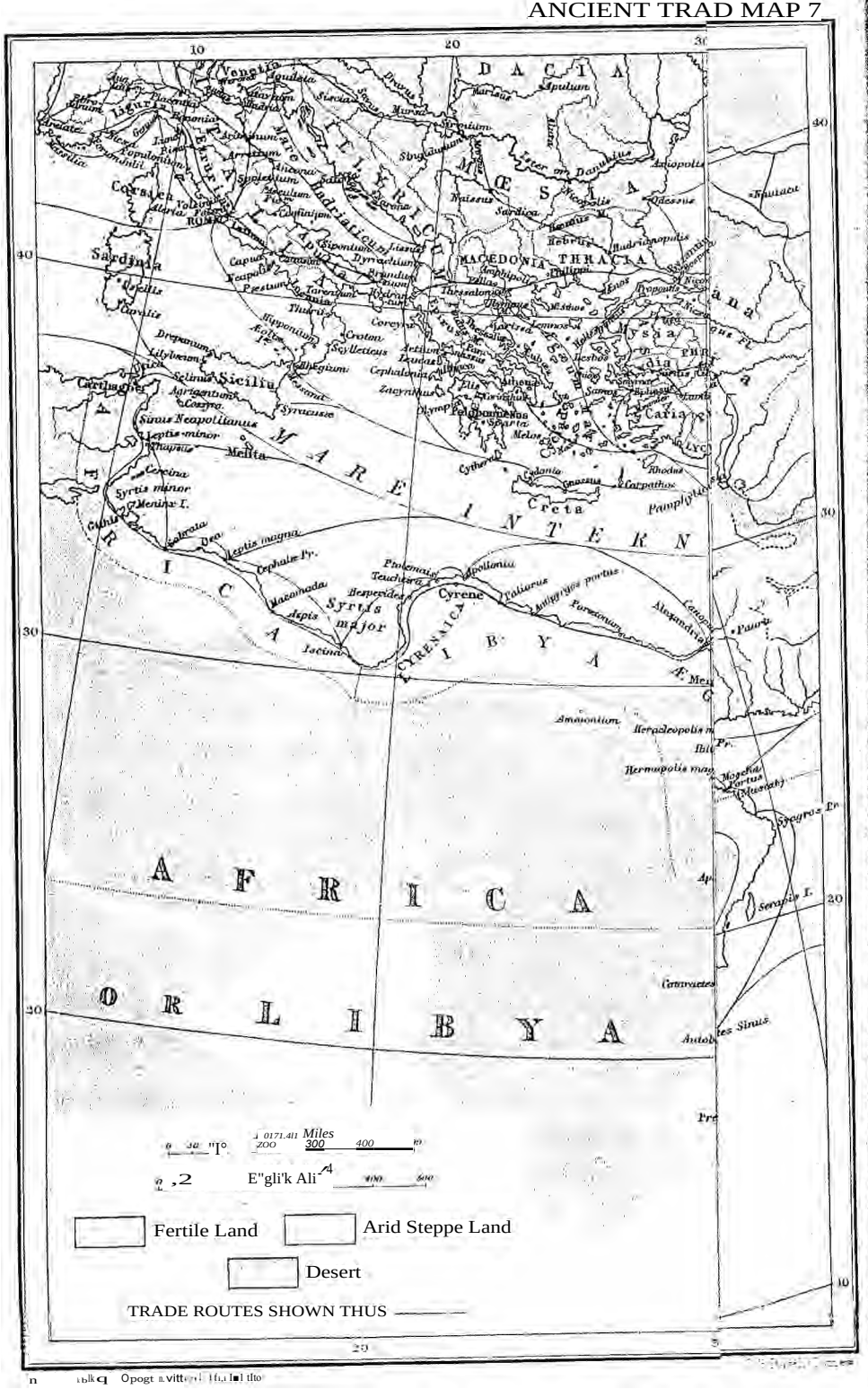


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London; Ho cid,. r and Stoughton.

J. G.B.,,holcrmer,

ANCIENT TRAD MAP 7



BOOK III

THE HIS

VOL. II.

horsemen and a number of auxiliaries, encamped against Jerusalem, which appears to have been wholly one in resisting Herod. As in all other cases, so in this, the assault was delivered on the north. The outer wall took forty days to carry, the inner fifteen more. The defenders concentrated in the Temple, but had to yield its outer court, parts of the cloisters of which were reduced to ashes, In the Upper City '[1] and the inner court of the Temple, the besieged held out for some time longer. At their request, Herod gave them beasts to sacrifice, thinking the request indicated their speedy surrender. But they persisted, and their obduracy embittered the besiegers to great cruelty. In the end the refuges were stormed, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Herod, who did his best to restrain the excesses of the Romans, was master of the City. The last of the Hasmonean kings was carried away by Sosius and put to death' Herod became King of the Jews in fact as well as by title of the Roman authority?'

One wonders if Josephus employs this term in the meaning he usually gives to it. If so, the defenders held two separated parts of the City. **But** it seems as though by the ' Upper City' he here meant the Paris.

[2] Vol. i. 412. For the exact date of the siege, summer 37 B.C., act Scharer, *Gesch.R i.§14 n. ix.* It was a Sabbatic year, says Josephus.

[3] For the siege described above, see xiv. *Ant. xvi.*

CHAPTER XVII

HEROD, THE' ROMANS AND JERUSALEM

37-4 B.C.

IF the title Great be ever deserved by the cruel and the unjust, history has not erred in granting it to Herod the son of Antipater. His father had dared for him a name, the full spelling of which is hero-id,' and not all his crimes, which have „turned it into a proverb of ferocity, can obscure the power that was in him to rise to the challenge it rang out.' That Herod was great in all but goodness, and had a nature capable at least of explosions in that direction, is manifest upon the mere summary of his fortunes and achievements. Josephus writes of the high-mindedness '

Herod the Great.

1 '11087 : so Niese throughout his ed. of Josephus ; idern est plod '1110P4s, sine *'1Ipthaas,* quarc iota non paLitur ' (Pref. to vol. iii. p. vii.). But the Cod. Ambrosianus of Josephus's works reads 'llpa'Ans, and Westcott **and** Hort in their N.T. give `Hp41571s, with the iota subscript : it ' is well Supported by inscriptions and manifestly right' 314). For example, Le 13a.s and Waddington, *Inscriptions Grapes et Latins mueillies en GrtIce et Atie Mineure,* iii. No. 3 (2364 ; cf. *H.G.H.L.* 618). So also Schilrer, Gesch.0) i. 375 *n. 20.* The coins of H. naturally omit the iota. The name occurs as early as the fifth century n.c., and contemporary with H. the Idumean was an Archon H. in Athens ; Cicero (ad *Att. 11.* ii. 2, etc.) mentions an Athenian II. as the teacher of his son. Other Greek instances Occur. There is no possibility of a Semitic derivation for the name. The Talmudic Divnin is clearly *a* transcription of the Greek. An adjective from the name was applied to tamed pigeons Levy, *Chald. u. N. Ilebr. Worterbuch,* i. 49[1].

of his youth, and the worst his enemies could then say of him was that he was forcible, daring, and ambitious of absolute power.' At twenty-five, by his own energy he swept the robber-ridden Galilee free of its pests, so that `the villages and townships sang songs in his praise,' For this he had to answer to the. Sanhedrin ; and the character of these authorities at Jerusalem may be seen from their intention to try him on the capital charge, because the brigands whom he exterminated were Jews Instead of appearing before them, like other accused persons, with hair dishevelled and in black, Herod came ' in purple, with his hair finely trimmed,' and with his guards about him ; so that his judges were all silenced; except Sameas, who predicted the day when the young soldier would have them in his power. His contempt for the sophistries and false patriotism of these pedantS - is one of his most characteristic tempers. Indeerr, all his valour, though it often seemed reckless, was inspired by an accurate knowledge of men, a strong grasp of circumstances, and an unfailing assurance of his abilities and of other men's need of them. His skill in the art of war was not less conspicuous. He sustain the severest proofs of generalship, winning battles against heavy odds, and rallying a beaten army to victory. The worst defeats left him unbroken and elastic ; men stood amazed at his courage under disaster and his resources of recovery. When his ambitions of conquest were *fruit* : trated, he fell back on reducing to order the territory, already in his possession, and won new moral influence - which rendered possible the conquest he had only postponed. When the powers he had espoused were defeated, he knew how to make himself necessary to the victors,

His personality—or his eloquence—prevailed alike with his soldiers, though on the verge of mutiny ; with his turbulent people, though his policy outraged their most sacred convictions ; and with the successive lords of his world, though he had previously intrigued or openly fought against them. Josephus, who never writes with greater effect—because never with more insight and discrimination—than when Herod is his subject, convinces us that it was the sheer ability of the man, working in very various directions, which stunned his foes and kept about him through all the uncertainties of his time a group of devoted and capable servants—besides that wider Herodian party among the people which even after his death and the removal of his sons from Judah continued to believe that his dynasty was indispensable to the nation. There has seldom been a more thorough master of the forces of disorder ; or, considering his means, a more ready financier and energetic builder ; or, when he liked, a better administrator. The methods by which he overcame the emergencies of the famine and pestilence of 25 B.C. were altogether admirable, and succeeded in restoring for a time that popular trust in him which his exactions and his crimes had shattered. Had Herod lived when his world was open, he would have been among the greater kings of the East, and might have proved a famous, if a transient, conqueror ; for he had the imperial vision, and while conscious of the value of his people's patriotism and able to sway it, he was not embarrassed by merely national ideals. As it was, he understood and used for his own ends every limit which the Roman dispensation imposed on his career. But, whether he derived it from his father, who was a good

man and a strong governor, or whether he learned it from the example of Rome, Herod had at heart the fundamental sense of order, and it was his ability to create order in very difficult circumstances which, in spite of his breaches of the Jewish law and the care of Rome to ensure its enforcement, commended him to one after another of her representatives. For nothing else than because he was the strong man of the East, Sextus Caesar supported him in his youth against the Sanhedrin, and Augustus committed to him in his prime the wild provinces beyond Jordan. Yet he did more than persuade each of the masters of Palestine that he was necessary to their policy. His capacity for winning the friendship of the greatest Romans of his day is as striking as his power to withstand the temptress to whom more than one of them succumbed. Caesar, Sextus Cmsar, Cassius, Antony, Augustus and Marcus Agrippa, Herod knew how to charm them all ; and he baffled the intrigues as well as resisted the fascinations of Cleopatra herself. His secret is clear. He read men through and through. Thus he bribed Mark Antony, but showed himself a frank and magnanimous soldier before Augustus. Never had prince more tragic dissensions in his family or more dangerous conspiracies among his people ; yet it is remarkable how often his troubles at home culminated along with some fresh success of his influence upon the Roman authorities; and if he had done nothing more than keep the balance between the demands of his lords that he should introduce a western civilisation to Judea, and the demands of his people that he should keep it out,—because every constructive act to which he was obliged provoked the suspicions of the one or of the other—his ability would

still have claims upon our admiration. He has been likened to several eastern princes who have played the same arduous part between a fanatic people and an aggressive foreign civilisation, for which they had more or less sympathy. Perhaps the nearest analogy is that of Ismail, Khedive of Egypt : on the one side with the intellectual centre of Islam in his capital, with so many violent deaths among his family and courtiers and with so cruel an oppression of his peasantry ; and on the other side a lavish finance, enormous public works after the western fashion, a western theatre, fetes for European magnates, numerous palaces, and even the introduction of statues in defiance of the precepts of his people's religion. On all these points the parallel is complete.[1] Only, Herod's reign did not prematurely close in bankruptcy. Nothing stopped his flow. The careers of great men have been likened to rivers. Herod was more : he was a tide, whose inevitable ebb came only after his death. The volume and the spaciousness of his success were extraordinary. He quelled every sedition among his people ; swayed every institution ; in turn provoked and mastered every interest. Though not by race a Jew, he impressed himself on the fabric of the Jewish religion, as hardly any native ruler had done since Solomon ; and he founded a dynasty which endured, more or less, till the state itself disappeared. He covered his land with buildings, and gave to its inhospitable coast the one harbour which this ever possessed. But his generalship and his munificence spread also abroad. Besides his

[1] I do not know if the parallel has been drawn before. It occurred to me as I stood in the Khedivial Mausoleum at Cairo, where to so many of the tombs a tragic story is attached.

successful conduct of Roman armies over the sands between Judaea and Egypt, he tamed the Arabs of the :-",--!-Leja, rendered possible a large population in Hauran, and assisted in the erection of many public buildings, the remains of one of which, near the borders of the desert, still testify to his work as the pioneer of civilisation in that region.' He poured gifts upon the Phoenician towns, Damascus and the Syrian Antioch, many cities of Asia Minor, Athens, Sparta and Nicopolis ; and by his liberal endowments revived the splendour of the Olympian games. The influence which he thus earned he exerted .' loyally on behalf of the Jews of the Dispersion, and sueceeded in securing their rights as well as additional privileges to many of those communities. But with all that he did for Judaism Herod had no religious convictions. He sprang from a race notorious for their irreligion, and though he patronised the faith of Israel, the people were never really deceived by him. The hands that gave the gifts might appear to be those of Jacob, heart behind was Esau's from first to last. And, therefore, just because he was without either faith or a national enthusiasm, he was obliged to maintain his position by a series of unparalleled crimes. His passions were never; controlled except, as in his dealings with Cleopatra, by barriers of policy ; and being indulged they soon broke through even these in a series of blunders which forced him to fresh outrage. They turned his own house into a - cage of beasts, into a slaughterhouse. He had tnarricd'1 ▾ Mariamme out of mere ambition, and she tortured him with her contempt for his family ; his wild nature caMe:;`" to conceive for her a brutal affection, and she repulsed Jr?

1 See *H.G.* 617 f.

with reproaches. Her murder was the inevitable resource of such a nature so baffled ; and his remorse, one of the most terrible in history, derives its horror from being less a sense of gout than the hunger of a balked passion, with perhaps the exasperating recollection that he had slain the queen who alone lent an appearance of legitimacy to his usurped position. Of his next marriage with another Mariamme, a woman of great beauty, Josephus says that he suffered not his reason to hinder him from living as he pleased ' ; and this new passion also had its woes to work. The crowded crimes of his last years were all either the direct consequences of these passions, or due to the sense of his own danger. Herod never started a religious persecution ; but he filled his prisons as full, he indulged in as wide a carnage for his -own interests, as ever any fanatic in the remorselessness of a holy war. In all this the similitude we have suggested for him is still deserved. His storms were like the storms of the sea ; their wreckage strewed every coast he rose upon. One cannot estimate the individuals, the families, the circles and hosts of men who disappeared in his cruel and relentless depths.'

For the career of Herod the sources are Josephus xiv.-xvii. *Ant.*, *and i B."* vi. -xxxiii. Josephus largely uses, but with criticism (especially when Herod is in question), the *Histories* of Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod's younger contemporary and confidant (for these and other fragments of Nicolaus see Milner, *Eras. Fist. Graec.* iii. 348 *ff.).* There is no reason to doubt the accuracy and justice of Josephus's accounts of Herod. The passages I have found most enlightening, as to the latter's character and the extraordinary difficulties which it mastered, are xiv. *Ant.* ix., xiii f.; xv. *Ant.* iii., iv., v. 2 *f.* 5, vi., vii., viii., ix. 2 *f.,xi.i;xvi. Ant. v.,* vii. f., x. f.; xvii. *Ant. i. v.-viii.;* xix. *Ant.* vii. 3. The title Great is given by Josephus to Herod only in xviii. *Ant. v. 4,* and may be interpreted as simply used to distinguish him from others of the same name. So Schilrer *(Gesch.0) i.* 418), who holds that it can only be justified in that relative sense, and quotes with approval Hitzig's remark that Herod ' was only a common man.' But as I have tried

The methods by which Herod governed Jerusalem have already been sketched ;[1] and the principal events of his reign may now be briefly summarised. Upon his capture of the City in 37 B.C., there followed that execution of the adherents of Antigonus which cost the Sanhedrin more than half its members. Herod had connected himself with the Hasmonean house by marrying Mariamme,[2] a granddaughter of Hyrkanus II. At the instigation of her mother, Alexandra, he appointed his wife's brother, Aristobulus III., High-priest (35 B.c.); but finding the young prince dangerously popular, he is said to have arranged for his death, which took place treacherously in the bath at Jericho. Henceforth Herod's nominees to the

Summary of *Events* in his *Reign.*

to show, his record as a soldier, his instincts and powers of order, the main. tenance of his position against his own people, his management of the great Romans of his time, or (if this be too strong a phrase) his convincing them of his indispensableness to their policy, his numerous enterprises, hia grasp of emergencies and occasional feats of sound statesmanship, raise him far above the common man.' Cf. the higher estimates of Ewald, *Hirt v.* 458 f. ; and Headlam, *Enc. Bib!.* The references to him in Greek and Latin writers are not very numerous, but sufficient to show that he had lin. pressed himself on the mind not only of his own, but of the succeeding, age. Horace alludes to his palm-groves at Jericho *(Ep. ii.* 2, 185). Josephus quotes one reference from Strabo's *'T7ronrr)para (xv. Ant. i. 2;* Willer, ill. 494); and in the latter's *Geogr.* there are two references, xvi. 34, 46. The second runs : Herod, a man of the country, having usurped the high-priest. hood (!) so excelled his predecessors through his friendly relations with Rome and his government, that he even became king, first Antony and then Augustus granting him the power.' Persius calls the Sabbath by his name : Herodis dies' *(Sat. v.* ,80). By Appian *(Bell. Civ.* v. 75) he entitled King of the Idumeans and Samarians.' To Dion Cassius he is onif 'a certain Herod,' to whom Antony conveyed the government of the je (Aix. 22, ed. Sturzii, ii. 520), and Augustus the tetrarchy of Zenodorus (liv. 9, ed. St. iii. 262). Cf. Plutarch, *Anton.* 6s, 71 f. ; Pliny, *H.N.* v.' 13; Tacitus, *Hist. v.* 9. A saying about Herod is attributed to Augustuit2- (Macrobius, *Saturnalia,* is. iv. Ix); 'Mallem Herodis porcus esse qu filius,' but the original was probably Greek with a pun upon Us and Urn.

Vol. i. 412.

[2] So, and *not* Mariamne.

sacred office were from families as far removed as possible from the legitimate succession ; none of them was even a Palestinian Jew.' In 34 he visited Antony at Laodicea, and succeeded in persuading his patron that he was innocent- of the murder of Aristobulus. The same year Cleopatra came to Jerusalem and tried her charms upon the still handsome king. He wanted to kill her, in the hope of freeing Antony from her toils and himself from her spite ; but his counsellors dissuaded him, and the only result was that he undertook the campaign against the Arabs, by which she hoped to get rid both of him and their king. Herod was saved by this engagement from the necessity of taking arms against Octavian, and at the same time won fresh fame through his defeat of the Arab forces. In 31 a great earthquake shook Judaea ;[2] and later in the same year the battle of Actium transferred the Roman power in the East, and Herod's allegiance, from Antony to Octavian. In 30 Herod made his peace in person with the latter at Rhodes, and was confirmed in his kingdom. In 30 the aged Hyrkanus, in 29 Mariamme, and a little later Alexandra, were executed. Herod received accessions of territory, and rebuilt Samaria as a Greek town under the name of Sebaste.[2] There followed the most prosperous years of his reign : his buildings in Jerusalem, his construction of Cxsarea,[4] and the extension of his territory by Augustus over TrachonitiS, Auranitis, Batatma, and in 20 over the domains of Zenodorus. In 25 a famine fell on Judaa, and Herod organised vigorous measures of relief. About

[1] Cf. Edersheiro, *Life and Times offesus the Messiah,*

[2] See vol. i. 64.

[3] *H.G.H.L.* 539 f. ' *Bid.,* also 348.

22 he visited Marcus Agrippa at Mytilene, and about 18 he went to Rome. In 15 Agrippa came as his guest to Jerusalem and sacrificed in the Temple. The next year Herod returned the visit in Asia Minor. Then began his troubles with his two sons by Mariamme, and they dragged on (with visits to Rome in 12 and ro) till he had the princes strangled in 7 Bac." A couple of years later he imprisoned his eldest son Antipater, and in 4 B.C. came the revolt of the rabbis in Jerusalem ; [2] Antipater's execution ; the final testament appointing Archelaus as successor to the kingdom of Judaea and Antipas and Philip to tetrarchies over the rest of the territories ; and Herod's death.'

Before we consider the details of Herod's work in Jerusalem, it is necessary to form an idea of the changed world in which the City lay since the advent of the Roman power, and to which her life, largely by Herod's instrumentality, rapidly adapted itself. The last great change we have had to note in Israel's world came with the conquests of Alexander and the division of his Asiatic empire among the dynasties founded by his generals. The centre of politics and culture moved from its ancient Oriental seats into the West. The fortunes of Palestine were decided by Greek minds, and not only upon the soil of Asia but out on the Mediterranean. Trade and mental intercourse increased rapidly with the West, and in a limited degree with the far East as well. The horizons of Israel were immensely widened. The intellectual sympathies of the nation were

The Roman World of Israel.

Vol. i. 443 ff.

[2] **VOL i.** 445.

A most useful chronology of the reign, with footnotes, is given by SchUrer, *Gesch.M i.* 36o ff.

engaged by a culture utterly different from that which had previously influenced them. There was a new and enormous Jewish dispersion. Jerusalem became the seat of a far-spread spiritual empire.' Now Rome did not materially widen ttiose horizons. Unlike the Phoenicians and the Greeks, the Romans were not explorers. But they gave peace to the world, whose extent the enterprise of their predecessors had made known, and by their thorough administration they multiplied its commerce and its wealth. The world was not a *new* one, but, to use the famous figure of Pliny, the Romans were a new day, a new sun, to it. His words are not too proud : '. . . immensa Romanae pacis majestate, non homines modo diversis inter se terris gentibusque, verum etiam montes et excedentia in nubes juga, partusque corum et herbas quoque ihvicem ostentante. Aeternum quaeso Deorum sit inunus istud. Adeo Romanos, velut alteram lucem, dedisse rebus humanis videntur.' [2] In this new day Jerusalem also flourished.

The effects of the Roman conquest on Western Asia may be stated as five.[3] First, the centre of trade as well as -of politics was transferred to the other end of the Mediterranean, from Alexandria to Rome. Secondly : the Roman Empire excelled all before it in the construction of roads—long lines of firm high-ways, fit for wheels as well as animals. Palestine, it is true, did not (eXcept in the neighbourhood of colonial and other centres'of Roman life) benefit by the characteristic Roman 'streets' till the time of the Antonines. But

Its Five Features.

See above, Bk. in. ch. xv.

[2] *lEitr.* **xxvii. I.**

[3] This paragraph is abridged from the author's article ' Trade and Commerce' in the *Em. Bibl. §§* 68.73, to which the reader is referred for the authorities cited.

the security of the ancient lines of traffic was a matter of care to the provincial governors ; and even the *reges soul,* like Herod, in whose domains brigandage was apt to be rife, knew that the favour of Rome depended upon the success with which they kept order and the roads open. By the beginning of the Empire the security of land travel was immensely increased. Thirdly : at sea the greatest change was the reduction of the Mediterranean under one power, and the consequent clearance of piracy, first by Pompey and then by Augustus. Herod's own life offers remarkable illustrations of this. None of his predecessors voluntarily set foot on shipboard ; he visited Rhodes, Lesbos, the Ionian coast, Sinope on the Black Sea, and four times went to Rome. Fourthly : trade down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean was multiplied. Ceylon, with its markets for the further East, became familiar. The Tiber and the Indus were not more than four months apart. All this secured the continued importance of Alexandria, which therefore did not succumb before Rome as Babylon had succumbed before herself. Fifthly : the civilised world found itself for the first time under a common system of law. We have seen the effect on Judea after this became a Roman province ;[1] but even in Herod's time, and through all the arbitrariness of his government, that effect was manifest. He was constantly referring cases of justice to Augustus.[2] The common languages of Syria continued to be Greek and Aramaic, the intellectual atmosphere that of Hellenism. But the Roman discipline and many Roman customs penetrated even the semi-independent states. And as all princes and their peoples were equally sub-

1 vol. i. 413.

2 See vol. I. 442 ff.

jects of Rome, there was more intercourse among them and more intermarriage.

To the imperial example and opportunity the genius of Herod responded—to the good that was in both as well as to the evil with which the latter tempted his ambitious and versatile mind. Herod's Response Our admiration has already been claimed for to these. the strong foundation of order from which Herod raised his services to the Empire. When he came to the full resources of his position, part of his method was the construction of fortresses. He rebuilt the Hasmonean castles of Alexandrium in' the Jordan valley, Masada in the desert of Judaea, Machaerus in Moab, and Hyrkania the site of which is unknown? He erected two new fortresses, each of which he called Herodium,[2] and a citadel by. Jericho named after his mother, Kypros. That he could explain all these as necessary to the maintenance of order is proved by his exhibition of three of them to Marcus Agrippa. Those who have inspected the remains of the Herodian castles can testify to the skill with which they were designed and the power with which they were constructed—the strength of their sites, the ingenuity of their approaches, the number and thickness of their walls, the thoroughness of their masonry. In all these respects Herod might confidently show them to an able Roman. He also fortified Heshbon in Perxa, and,

1 For the first three see *H.G.H.L.* 353, 552 ff., 569 (with my article on Machaerus in *P. E.F. Q.,* 5905, 224 ff.). Hyrkania must have lain west of the Jordan, for Herod took Marcus Agrippa to see it as well as Alexandrium and Herodium : xvi. *Ant.* ii. I.

2 ˙Hiothaetop : one about three miles S.E. of Jerusalem on the Frank Mountain: Jebel el-Fureidis (Hill of Paradise), in which modern name it is possible to conjecture a corruption of his own. The site of the other has not been recovered ; it lay in the mountains towards Arabia.'

as a centre for his cavalry, Gaba on Esdraelon—one is reminded of Solomon's cities for chariots [1]--besides planting guard-houses all over the land. The next work which the Roman dispensation demanded from him was an open and secure gateway to the west. This he gave in Cwsarea—city, fortress and harbour. Its rank as the capital of the Roman province of Judaea, with all its commercial and religious importance in New Testament times, proved his foresight and the solidity of his building.[2] In the hills behind Caesarea stood the already fortified Sebaste, upon the site of Samaria, which Herod selected, like Omri, Alexander and Perdiccas before him, for its western outlook.[3] On the maritime plain somewhere by the road between Cwsarea and Jerusalem he founded Antipatris in memory of his father,[4] and further south, near Gaza, he rebuilt the town and port of Anthedon,[6] under the name Agrippeion, thereby securing control of the Nabatean trade, which spread from Arabia as far as Italy.° He also founded a town Phasaelis, called after his brother, in the Jordan valley, which he brought under a wide and profitable cultivation.

Effects on Jerusalem.

The effects upon Jerusalem herself were of a double and opposite character. On the one hand, Herod was never at home in his capital. Besides their political purpose, a number of his construetions provided him with relief from the legalism of the City, which he detested, and with refuges from her fanatic turbulence, which he had increasing reason to fear. Sebaste was wholly Greek, and josephus says that

Above, pp. 56 f. [2] *H. G. H.L.* 138 ff. [3] Above, pp. 374, 376.
[4] *H. G. H.L.* 165, and the present writer's Antipatris ' in the *Enc. Bib!.*
I N.G. H. L. 189. [6] Vol. i. 341.

Herod built it for his own security.' His later years he seems to have spent almost constantly at Jericho, protected by his new citadel. It was the local Assembly of Jericho before which he brought the case of his sons, and other legal questions. In this he strictly conformed to the Law ;[1] but he was also more sure of the verdicts he wanted than if the trials had` taken place in Jerusalem. Herodium, with its aqueduct, gardens[2] and luxurious apartments, not only gave him a residence near to Jerusalem yet fortified against her multitude, but lay on the way to Masada, where he had built himself a retreat from Jewish revolt and Roman caprice. That he also made the military road between the two is unlikely ;[3] it is probably Roman. But while this prudent distribution of his resources must have diminished in some degree the importance of the capital, it also increased her security, her population and her wealth. Except from Rome, Jerusalem had now nothing to fear. Fortresses controlled most of the ways to her gates. She had a coast of her own from Anthedon to Carmel and a spacious port towards Europe. The summer voyage from Caesarea to Cyprus might be accomplished within two days, to Alexandria in four, to Athens in ten, to Rome within three weeks.' In other words, Jerusalem was sometimes, though not regularly, almost as near to Rome as Calcutta is to London. Roman emissaries and officials, Italian, German and Gaulish mercenaries, with traders from all the coasts of the Mediterranean, became familiar figures in her streets. The pickled fish

' Vol. i. 443 f. Vol. i. 130.
[3] Traces of which I followed in the desert : *H. G.H.L.* 273.
[4] See the writer's ' Trade and Commerce,' *Enc. Bib!.*, where the uncertainties of the voyage over the Mediterranean are also illustrated.

of the Lake of Galilee, the wheat of Hauran and Moab, the olives of Judaea, the gold and incense of Arabia, paid tolls from which Herod's capital directly benefited. From this time onward the majority of foreign terms in the Hebrew language are still Greek, but Latin words appear in increasing number. It is difficult to determine when each of these entered the language ; many are certainly later than Herod's day, and imply the creation of the Roman province of Judaa in 6 A.D. ; but a summary of them all may be given here as on the whole illustrative of Roman influence on Jewish life during New Testament times.' Greek terms of civil or military administration were already fairly numerous, for the Jews had been under Greek kings and familiar with their garrisons since Alexander ; while the fact that nearly all the names for popular forms of government are Greek is significant of that influence of Hellenic cities upon Jewish politics which has been already described.[2] The political or military terms which Hebrew borrowed from Latin signify various military officers, several kinds of private soldiers, and parts of the characteristic Roman uniform or armour ; courtiers, guards, police-officers, spies and informers ; some taxes, weights and coins. In architecture the foreign terms are mostly Greek; we have seen traces of Greek influence in

[1] I have not been able to see the monographs on Greek and Latin words in the Mishna and Talmuds cited by Strack in his *Einleitung*, pp. 119, I= Scheirer, *Gesch.R §* 22, gives an interesting list. I have used it for check. ing and extending the summary which is given above, and which is mainly derived from my own reading. An exact study would discriminate between those in the Mishna and those in the Talmuds : the former are not nearly **so** many as the latter. Another difficulty would be to decide whether certain terms common to both languages were directly derived from the one or **the** other.

[2] Vol. i. Bk. i. ch. x.

the remains both of Hasmonean and Herodian buildings.' But there are Latin words, as also Greek, for streets, roads and footpaths. The terms for inn and harbour and for many things connected with the sea are Greek. In astrology, geometry, literature, medicine, philosophy and religion the foreign terms ,are, of course, almost exclusively Greek ; yet Latin words sometimes occur, and it is interesting to meet the Roman *disciplina* side by side with the Greek *nornos.* Foreign expressions for the industrial arts and their materials, especially spinning, weaving, fish-curing and writing, for the processes and objects of trade, especially the names of various traders and of jars for the conveyance of goods, are nearly all Greek. Greek and Latin garments are frequent : boots, trousers, robes and caps ; names of games, baths, feasts and articles of luxury are borrowed from both languages. But the names of European countries and peoples are given mostly in their Latin form.

Through Herod's reign Jerusalem probably increased in size and in the number of her inhabitants. But for neither have we any exact data. The First and Second Walls ran as before, and the divisions of the City were the same. On the city. crest of the East Hill lay the Temple with Basis to the north, and to the south the Lower City falling to Siloam. On the South-West Hill lay the Upper City, protected to the north by the First Wall ; beyond which lay the northern quarter or slope enclosed by the Second Wa11.[2] That to the north of this there were already suburbs we

and Population ro

Vol. i. 592, 217 ; vol. ii. 4O4, 426.

[2] Td ***rpocrapKnov altux: Jos. v. B.J. iv.*** 2.

know from the account of Herod's siege in 37,[1] but how far they reached at that time or were increased under Herod, how much of Bezetha was covered, or whether outlying houses with gardens had yet appeared on the northern plateau, are questions we have no means of answering. The population, too, is unknown. At the end of the reign and through the New Testament period it has been estimated as from 200,000 to 250,000, but the figure seems far too high.

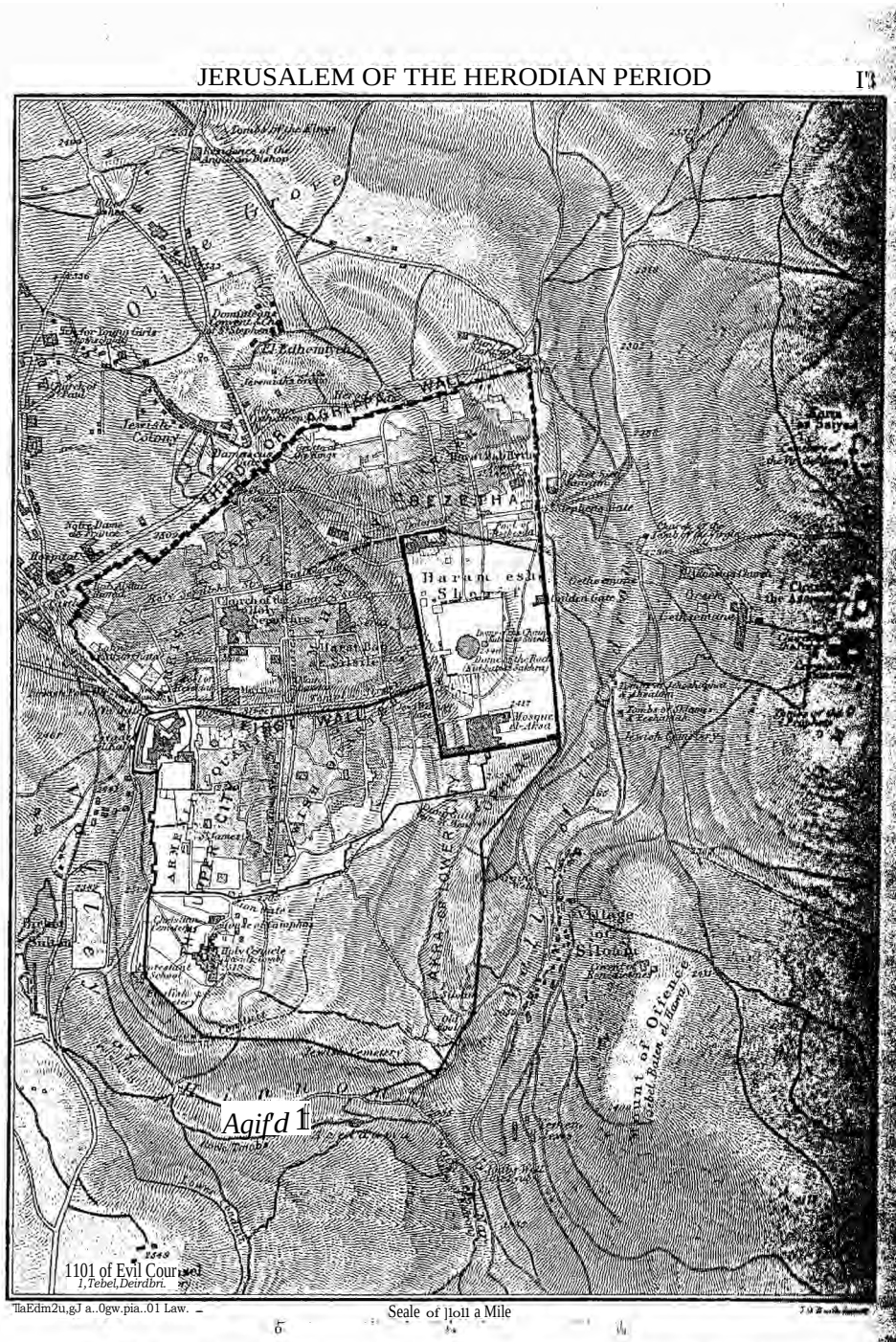
The Revolution in the Topography.

From such uncertainties we turn to the increased fortifications and the new buildings which we definitely know to have been due to the lavish energy of Herod. We must examine these with care, for they not only brought into bolder relief the outlines of the City and of her divisions, they not only enriched and dignified her whole appearance ; but they altered her centre of gravity, in a political sense, they determined the topography of the New Testament, and they perverted the tradition of that of the Old Testament.[2]

The Walls and Great Towers.

When Herod captured Jerusalem in 37 B.C. the two northern lines of wall were breached, some of the Temple-cloisters burned, and other parts of the town probably dilapidated, for the sack that followed the capture was ruthless.[3] Herod's first care' as king must have been the repair of the fortifications. Although there is no record of his work upon the walls, we may infer from the towers he built, as well as from his thorough construction of other strongholds, that his engineers were busy with them all round

[1] *Ta* rpodo-rera : i. *B.J.* xvii. 8.
[2] Vol. i. 161 ff.
[3] xiv. *Ant.* xvi. 2 1. ; i. *B.J. xviii.*



The Walls in Herod's time are shown by red lines, except the course of the Second Wall on the North which is unknown. The Third Wall added by Agr!ppa is shown by red dotted lines on the line of the present North Wall.

the City, and that the First and Second Walls which so stubbornly resisted Titus in 70 A.D. had all been strengthened or elevated by Herod.' From the west wall of the Temple to the present citadel and round the South-West Hill to the Tyropceon the First Wall ran as before. It still enclosed Siloam,[2] and when it reached the eastern boundary of the Temple area as extended by Herod it coincided with this above Kidron, and then turning round the northern slopes of the Temple-mount reached the Baris, now called Antonia,[3] from which the Second Wall struck across the Tyropceon on an unknown line to the Gate Genath on the stretch of the First Wall along the north of the South-West Hill. Here, on this same stretch of the First Wall, Herod raised three lofty towers, which with a fourth to the north of them greatly changed the western outline of the City. The three were Hippicus, perhaps where the north-west tower of the present citadel stands ; Phasael, the base of which still bears the tower known as David's ' ; and a little to the east of this Mariamme[4]—the last two certainly, and Hippicus perhaps also, on the Old or First north wall.[5] The fourth tower, Psephinus, an octagon, stood to the north, probably on the site of the present Kasr Jalfid, at first isolated but afterwards connected with the others by the Third, or Agrippa's Wa11.[6] Phasael was • ninety cubits high, Hippicus eighty, Psephinus seventy, Mariamme fifty ; Phasael was forty cubits

[1] Vol. i. 193. [2] Vol. 1. 223. [3] Vol. 1. 234 f.

[4] On these three see vol. i. 242, and further on Phasael, 191 1.

[5] Josephus, v. B.J.:iv. 3, seems to imply that only Phasael and Mariamme were on the Old or First north wall, Hippicus being close by ; but in the next section (4) he places them all on the old wall.

[6] Vol. i. 11 *(n. 1)*, [2]4[O], 244.

square, Hippicus twenty-five, Mariamme twenty. Each of the four was built on a high, solid base of huge stones without mortar, with a revetment such as we see on the still extant base of Phasael.' Above this the structures differed, but all the towers were provided with battlements and turrets.[2]

The three towers, Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme, lay then at the north-west angle of the Old or First Wall, where this already formed a crest of thirty cubits high[3] on the South-West Hill, within and near the site of the present citadel. In touch with them, to the south and within the wall, Herod constructed a new Royal Court or Palace, the Palace in the Upper City.'[4] The wall of this was on the north and west the Old or First City wall ; on the south and east a wall of the same height, thirty cubits, was erected, and there were towers at intervals. It was, in fact, a citadel as well as a palace. Within were two halls, each the size of the sanctuary with couches for a hundred guests, and many other chambers richly furnished. There were colonnades all round, courts open to the air in which everything was green, and groves or shrubberies with long walks among them. The whole was rendered possible by the High-

Herod's Court or Palace.

Vol. i. 192, with Plate vi. This cubit was probably about in inches.

[2] See further the description of Phasael in *P.E.F. Mem. 'Jerus.'* 267 ff., especially the interesting comparison of the Josephan datum of a cloister which went round the tower ten cubits above the base with a similar outwork still extant.

[3] *v. B.J.* iv. 4: about 43i feet.

[4] 'H roi) pacnXion *aarj, v. B.J. iv. 4; T6 gairro0 paraccov* trar4 rip *dew r6Xtp,* xxi. I ; cf. xv. *Ant.* ix. 3 ; xvii. *Ant.* **X. 2.** After describing itS various parts, in the first of these three passages, Josephus calls it by the plural, ***Ta Pacraela,*** in ii. *B.J.* iii. 1, xvii. 6 ; cf. 4/ *etpwrIpw a6Arl. xv. 4111.* vii. 8 calls it the Phrourion of the City as contrasted with that of the Temple; and in other passages the Akrai of Jerusalem are mentioned, xvii. *Ant,* x. r ; ii. *B.J.* ii. 2, iii. 1. See below, pp. 574 ff.

Level Aqueduct, which distributed water through deep conduits and metal fountains.' It was here that Herod kept those flocks of tamed pigeons to which, oddly enough, his name has been attached in later Hebrew.' The Palace was destroyed by fire in 70 A.D., and only the base of Phasael, parts of its other towers and of its western wall, remain to witness to its strength. But of the site there can be no doubt. Herod built his Palace on the highest of the three terraces of the South-West Hill.[3] The north and west walls were, as we have seen, the north-west angle of the First City Wall, and it therefore occupied the site of the present citadel and barracks, with an unknown extension southwards over the gardens of the Armenian monastery. Its breadth would most naturally be the breadth of the terrace, and its eastern wall therefore probably followed the line of the present street leading to the Sion Gate.[4] The Palace and Towers of Herod overlooked the whole City, as well as her approaches from the south and the west.[5]

Thus at last one, and this perhaps the most formidable, of the centres of authority in the City had been planted on the crest of the South-West Hill ; and it was never to be shifted from here. Here Herod resided when he was in Jerusalem, and here he kept a large garrison of his mercenaries. Here also would reside Archelaus and Agrippa 1.[6] The Palace

Permanent Removal of the Seat of Authority to the S.W. Hill.

Vol. i. 129 ; vol. ii. 462 f.

[2] Above, p. 469 *n.* **I.**

[3] **Vol. i.** 35.

[4] Schick *(Z.D.P. V. xvii.* 85) conjectures the breadth as extending from the west City wall nearly to the English church, and that the W. wall of the Armenian monastery stands on the E. wall of the Palace. ' The market-place east of the fosse which surrounds the Citadel appears to be supported on vaults ' *(p.E.F. Men:.* jerus. ' 270). Could these be excavated some remains of Herod's Palace might be found.

[5] **Vol. i. 26.**

[6] **xvii.** *Ant.* ix. 3 ; ii. *B.J.* ii. r f. ; xix. *Ant.* vii. 3.

of Herod was the Prmtorium or residence of the Roman procurators,' the tower Phasael was the stronghold of Simon through the siege.[2] The Legionary Camp had its strongest angle here ;[3] here lay the castle of the Byzantines and the Moslems,[4] the Crusaders' Tower of David and Castle of the Pisans,[8] and here still stands the Turkish Castle, el-Kala'a. Herod's choice and parts of Herod's construction have endured, through all these dispensations, to the present day. And, as we have seen, it was his removal of the centre of the City's authority from the East to the South-West Hill which carried with it the names of the ancient stronghold on the former Sion, the ' City of David,' and perverted the whole tradition of the Old Testament topography.°

The Hasmonean Palace and the Xystos.

On the lowest terrace of this same South-West Hill, and, in fact, due east from the site of Herod's Palace, lay (as we saw) the Palace of the Hasmoneans ;[7] the first short step which the government of Jerusalem had taken from the East Hill and across the Tyropceon. After Herod extirpated the Hasmoneans this palace would pass into the use of his family, if indeed Mariamme had not already brought it with her as. a dowry. Below this, in the Tyropceon, had long lain an' open place of exercise, perhaps the Gymnasium which Jason had built.[8] Hereafter it is called the Xystos, the Greek name for a covered colonnade in a gymnasium .°

1 xvii. *Ant.* ix. 3 ; ii. *B.J. ii.* 2, xiv. 8 ; see below, pp. 574 fi.
[2] V. *B.J. iv.* 3. [3] Wilson, *Golgotha,* **142 ff.**
[4] Mukaddasi, 167, Istakhri, 56, quoted by Le Strange, *Pal. under MO ' Moslems, 253.*
[5] That is Phasael ; cf. Will. of Tyre, viii. 3 ; **ix. 3.**
',Vol. i. 161 ff. [7] Above, p. 461. [8] Above, p. **432,**
[9] So called from its polished floor ; it is first mentioned in xx. *Atte.* viii. l r under Festus ; ii. *B.J. xvi. 3,* just before the siege by Titus.

Herod may have remade it under this name. The Hippodrome also, which it is probable (though not certain) that Herod built, is placed by some on the South-West Hill,' and they conjecture that a memory of it survives in the Haret el-Meickin, or street of the race-course. But the single notice of the Hippodrome seems to imply that it did not lie in the western part of the City.[2]

Transformation of the East and Central Valley.

While by these edifices He'rod not only altered the appearance of the South-West Hill, but the relative significance of all parts of the City, he effected also, by constructions still more massive, a vast transformation of the East Hill and of the Central Valley. Central Valley.[3] For on the third summit of the East Hill he rebuilt and amplified its citadel, the Bads!' On the fourth he rebuilt the Temple, greatly heightening the House itself, widely extending the courts, so as to cover all this part of the hill and project over the Central Valley, and surrounding the whole with a huge wall. And he appears to have made the east stretch of this wall coincident, for the first time in its history, with the East Wall of the City above the Kidron.[5] The extent and character of many of these changes has been disclosed by the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but some of them 'remain obscure, and have provoked much controversy. For such reasons, but also because of the place which the two buildings occupy in New Testament

Guthe, Hauck's *R.-E.* viii. 686.
xvii. *Ant.* X. 2 ; it was held by a band of the Jews who revolted against Sabinus, a second band held the temple, and a third band ' the western part of the city.'
[3] For these constituents of the site of Jerusalem, see vol. i. Bk. t. ch. i.
[4] On these summits see vol. i. p. 34. [5] VOL i• 234 f.

history and through the last siege, Herod's Castle and Temple are treated by themselves in the next chapter.

In this chapter we have still to notice his Theatre and Amphitheatre, with the gorgeous shows exhibited in them. Somewhere about 25 B.C. Herod founded an Athletic Gathering, to be celebrated every five years, in honour of Augustus.[1] He spared no expense, for, like Antiochus Epiphanes, this patron of the Olympian Games was determined to rival on his own soil the finest of the Greek and Roman spectacles. Athletes from all lands were invited to Jerusalem, to contend for costly prizes amid magnificent surroundings that flashed with ascriptions to the Emperor and trophies of the nations he had subdued, all wrought in silver and gold. There came also musicians and choral actors, whose name, Thymelikoi, would remind a cultured Jew of their original association with Greek worship. In a region unsuitable to wheels,' chariot-races were run, with two, three and four pairs of horses. Wild beasts were collected to fight with each other, or with men. To these shows Gentiles flocked with admiration. But it was a sore sight to Jerusalem, as though the most Hellenising of her Seleucid tyrants the very monster against whom the Maccabeans had risen, were come again, and in the person of her own king. We cannot wonder that the first festival marked the beginning of a period of trouble for Herod.

Herod's Athletic Gatherings.

The sites of these spectacles are, therefore, of more

1 Josephus, xv. *Ant. viii. i.: aywva* IrEVTOLEDVLK6P C10X7j/ACI,TLOP KaTeaDOWTO *Kato-apt.* The name 'gathering,' used in the Highlands of Scotland for athletic and musical contests, is the exact equivalent of the Greek Agon.

2 See above, vol. i. 325. Herod must have improved the roads of his kingdom.

than 9rdinary interest. Josephus says that Herod built a theatre in Jerusalem, and a very great amphitheatre on the plain. If we conclude, from its contrast with the other position, that the phrase in Jerusalem' is to be taken literally, we must seek for Herod's Theatre inside the walls, where two sites have been suggested.[2] But it is improbable that he would so violently affront the religious authorities, and possible to understand the words of Josephus in a more general sense. To the south of the City, on the hill beyond the Jebel Deir Abu Tor,' the remains of a great theatre were recently discovered, and we know of no other name to call it by than Herod's. It is of the usual form : a semicircle on the hillside, with traces of stepped seats and chambers below, and in front a level space for the stage. The diameter is rather large for a Palestine theatre, 132 or 136 feet. Facing north, the theatre is visible from several parts of Jerusalem : the spectators looked across the Jebel Deir Abu Tor onwards to the City.[4]

His Theatre

The site of Herod's Amphitheatre on the plain ' is not certainly known. It may have been out on the Bukei'a, or on the plateau to the north of Jerusalem. and Amphi- But an equally suitable position, and one theatre. with which tradition connects great games, may be seen as we look from the north-east corner of the City north-east into the great basin on the Olivet range. I often

1 As above, xv. *Ant.* viii. i.

On the S.W. Hill, south of the Burj el-Kibrit, and on the East Ifill south of the Haram.

3 Vol. i. 31 and Plate v.

4 The discovery was made by Schick, who, however, wrongly calls it an *amphitheatre*, while his description and plans are, as above, of a *theatre ; P.E.E.Q.,* 2887, 161 ff.

wondered whether this level space was ever utilised in ancient times, till I heard that the people have a story of its having been a Meidan, or place of exercise, where strong men wrestled and made games.' This may embody a genuine recollection of Herod's athletic gatherings in honour of Augustus, and indicate the site of his Amphitheatre.'

1 I was walking in the neighbourhood one afternoon with Dr. Percy D'Erfe Wheeler and his servant, when the latter told us this story as current among the people. He called a clump of ruins on the site . er-Rasas. Cf. Bit er.Rasas or Rasasiyeh, a little further north *(P.E.F. Large Map,* sheet xvii., and Schick's map of the nearer environs). Ra0..5 does not necessarily mean ' lead' ; the root is applied to any joining, ranging, or piling, especially of stones.

CHAPTER XVIII

HEROD'S CASTLE AND TEMPLE

IN this chapter we shall treat of Herod's two most conspicuous and significant reconstructions, which, standing together on the East Hill, were destined to be the principal scenes of the remaining Jewish history of Jerusalem—his Castle, the Antonia, and his Temple. The Castle was built first, and we begin with it.

I. The Antonia—its character :

The Bads, or Akropolis of the Hasmoneans, stood (as we have seen) on the north of the Temple.' According to Josephus, Herod refortified this castle and enlarged it at a vast expense, calling it the Antonia, in honour of Mark Antony? He says that the Antonia lay at' or near to the angle of the two cloisters of the first Temple, that to the west and that to the north.'[3] Its basis was a rock so cubits high, and precipitous all round.' Herod deprived the sides of foothold by covering them with slabs of stone. Round the edge ran a rampart, three cubits high, within which the whole erection of the Antonia was carried to

[1] Above, p. 460.

[2] **xv.** *Ant.* viii. 5, xi. 4 ; xviii. *Ant.* iv. 3 ; xx. *Ant. v.* 3 ; i. *B.J. xxi.* I. The description of it given above is abridged from v. *B.J. v.* 8.

[3] **V.** *B.f.* v. 8 : 'H 5' *'Avnevig* Kara 'yteptav /Lb• & o *CrTOCZY &ELTO Tors rpWrou lepa, rijs TE irpJs gcsrlpav ael TC13 7rpJr 4pKTOV,* The *First Temple* here is to be taken in the sense of the outer Temple ; cf. v. *B.J. v.* **2,** where the inner Temple is called *the second.* See below, pp. 513 *n.* **2, 518** *n.* **I.**

a height of 40 cubits.' The interior contained every kind of dwelling and other convenience, colonnades, baths and broad courts for encampments, so that in possessing, all manner of utilities it seemed a city, but in sumptuousness a palace.' The whole plan was tower-like,'[2] but at the corners it carried four other towers, three 5o cubits high, and a fourth, at the south-east corner, 70, so as to overlook the Temple. Stairs or sloping gangways led down to the two adjoining cloisters, They appear to have crossed a rocky incline between the Antonia and the Temple ; for, though some of the language used by Josephus may be interpreted as though the Antonia immediately adjoined, or even abutted upon, the Temple cloisters, this is not the only possible meaning ;[3] and in his description of the struggles between the Romans and the Jews, after Titus had taken the Castle, Josephus implies that some little space intervened between the latter and the *peribolos* of the sanctuary.[4] On the north, again, the Antonia was

I As to the figures given by Josephus, it must be remembered that he wrote some years after the destruction of the Temple, and at a distance from Jerusalem, that his figures for the Temple dimensions frequently exceed those given in the Mishna (which are preferred below); but also that in one or two cases in which we can test others of his figures by extant remains, these have been found to be very near the truth. The heights which he gives for the Antonia towers seem needlessly great.

[2] Cf. Tacitus, *Hist. v. I i* : Conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia in honorem M. Antonii al) Herode appellata.'

[3] ii. *B.J.* xv. 5 f: when Gessius Florus sought to reach the Temple through the Antonia,' the Jews cut through the Temple cloisters ad. joining' : *avaPctyres eiOiwr ra,s avvexcis o-roas Toi) tepoii* frpds rliv 'Arrowfay *otiKozpay ;* xvi. 5, however, calls them the *aroai* of the Antonia itself, and this suggests that they were the (covered) passages connecting the two.; xvii. I : the people going up to the Temple began the rebuilding of these *arma.*

[4] vi. *B.J.* i. 7 ff ; ii. 6 ; neither side had any length of space whether for flight or pursuit.'

isolated from the higher summit of Bezetha by a deep ditch ' designedly cut through' the ridge which joined them.' So far Josephus. With his data agrees Luke's description of Paul's adventures between the Temple and the Castle. When Paul was dragged *out* of the Temple, and the gates were shut, the Chiliarch came down with soldiers and brought him up *the ascents* to the Castle. From these gangways Paul addressed a crowd standing below them, but outside the great sanctuary wall. There was, therefore, a space of open ground on the saddle of the hill between the Temple and the Castle.[2]

For those who hold that the Temple stood to the west of the rock es-Sakhra, there can be no doubt about part at least of the site of the Antonia.[3] This was the rock at the north-west corner of the Haram, upon which the Turkish barracks now stand. The southern face of the rock is a scarp from 20 to 32 feet high. The east face is hidden by buildings. On the west the conditions are not so clear. But it has been amply verified that on the north a broad, deep ditch is cut across the hill, so as to separate the rock from

and its Site.

v. B.J. iv. 2 : ateraCkpetiOn ycip *e77471)6ES, ws Ail TIi X6sbcp croviorrovret of °el-Atm r-7''1S 'AVTCOVICES etIIrp6(161-01 re eles* Ka/ *ijTTOP 611/71X0I* (see vol. i. 244) ; cf. v. 8.

[2] Acts icxi. 3o ff. (cf. above, vol. i. 246) : castle.rapc1z3oX7j. The reference to the gates cannot mean the gates of the inner sanctuary, and that the crowd stood in the court of the Gentiles. Paul could not have addressed them through the massive outer wall and its cloisters.

[3] Those who place the Temple in the S.W. corner of the Haram (vol. i. 231 ; vol. ii. 6i) are forced to place the Antonia much further south than the rock described above, and, in fact, where there is no outstanding rock at all, in the Tyropceon valley ! Fergusson (*Temples of the Jews,* 172 ff.) assumes that Wilson's arch and the underground chambers to the W. of this are parts of the substructions of the Antonia. But this is also to remove the Antonia too far from Bezetha, its nearness to which is placed by Josephus beyond all doubt.

Bezetha, just as Josephus describes' Above these scarps, then, stood part at least of the Antonia. But the rock is not a simple oblong ; it has an offshoot to the south. At right angles from the west end of its southern face, another scarp, facing east across the Haram, runs to the Bab es-Serai. The space between the two scarps is natural rock, falling south-east to the Haram level. It is probable, therefore, that the high site of the Antonia was an irregular gnomon with its prolongation southwards to the Bab es-Serai. This hypothesis provides more of the room needed for the interior of the Castle as described by Josephus ; it provides a longer western face for the Antonia which seems required by the account of the fighting under Titus ; it brings the end of the Castle nearer to the north-west angle of the Temple, which cannot have been situated much further north than the Bab en-Nazir ;[2] and at the same time it leaves space, partly sloping, partly level, for the interval which Josephus describes between the cloisters and Antonia, and which was apparently crossed by the sloping gangways.[3] In this space traces of a ditch across the saddle are said to have been discovered.' If such a ditch ever existed, it was before Herod's day, in order to separate between the Bar's and the Second Temple, and it must have been filled up by Herod, for there is no description or hint of a ditch between the Antonia and Herod's Temple.

1 For these particulars see *P.E.F. Mem.* Jesus.' 252 ff., with Plans lx. and xxxvIr. of the Portfolio. The northern ditch and its scarps are described by Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch: Res. i. 49* ff. The street to the Bab Sitti Mariam (St. Stephen's Gate) runs along the ditch, which extended far to the west, part of its N. scarp having been discovered in the grounds of the Austrian hospice. Here it was probably the fosse outside the Second Wall.

2 See vol. i. 231. 3 Above, p. 496.

4 *Recovery of Jerus.* 13, 312.

Therefore, the supposition that a bridge, or pair of bridges, connected the two is unfounded.'

As the name implies, Herod built his Antonia before the fall of Mark Antony in 31 B.C. His Palace on the South-West Hill was finished by 23,[2] and even earlier his Hippodrome, Theatre and Amphi-'theatre.[3] Sebaste was built in 27, and aesarea begun about 22. In these and other cities he had erected shrines to Greek and Roman deities ; while in sight of Jerusalem he had established heathen games and spectacles.' It became necessary to his policy to do something for Judaism. His fresh and costly structures in Jerusalem, built in Hellenic style with limestone that showed like marble, rendered the Temple of Zerubbabel, in spite of its embellishment during the Greek period, meagre and shabby. Herod had difficulty, however, in gaining the consent of the multitude' to his plans ;[5] and Josephus says that he began by explaining to them that his previous works were undertaken in order to advance the fame of the Jews among other nations ! But now piety urged them all to do something great for their own God. The Second Temple, he averred, was not so lofty as the First, and his predecessors had never been able to heighten

a. The Tern-*Oe* He- d e as onsTor Rebuilding.

Sanday and Waterhouse *(Sacred Sites of the Gospels, io8,* with Plan I r6 ; see also frontispiece) suppose a ' valley' crossed by ' a double bridge ' between the Temple and Antonia, for which there is 'some reason' (to8). But there is no ' valley ' across this part of the East Hill, only a saddle between two summits, the Antonia rock and the rock es-Sakhra. If there had been a ditch before Herod's time, Herod must have filled it up, for there is not the faintest allusion to either a ditch or ' a bridge' in all the subsequent relations of the Temple and Antonia. Nothing is described between them from Herod to Titus, except `no long space of ground' (on which the fighting took place between Romans and Jews) and the stairs or gangways.

4 Above, p. 492.

2 Above, pp. 488 f. 3 Above, p. 491 ff.

xv. *Ant.* xi. 2 ; see above, vol. i. 443.

it. But his friendship with the Romans, the peace with which God had blessed His people, made it possible to repair this defect and prove their gratitude to God. Still the Jews hesitated, and Herod won them over only by promising that he would not pull down the old House till he was ready to build the new. That no profane hand might touch the inner sanctuary, he put a thousand priests into training as masons and carpenters. Then, in the eighteenth year of his reign, the winter of 20-1g B.C., he began to build. The Naos or House itself was finished in eighteen months, and was dedicated on the anniversary of his accession ; but the construction of the cloisters and the massive outer enclosures occupied eight years.' Even then much remained to be done, and the work dragged on long after Herod's death. During one of our Lord's visits to Jerusalem it was said *forty-and-six years has this Temple been building,'* which fixes the date of that visit as 27 or 28 A.D. Not

Dates and Period of Construction.

[1] For all the above particulars see xv. *Ant.* xi. 5 f. In i. *B.J. xxi. 1* the, Temple is said to have been begun in II erod's fifteenth year. If this be correct it refers -to the preliminary operations. See Schtirer's full note *Gesch.*(*)*§15 n.* 12.

[2] John ii. 20 : *Naos ; the Naos,* in its proper sense of the House itself, was finished in ri years, and objection has therefore been taken to the Evangelist's accuracy, which Drummond meets by saying that the phroAc `takes up the word used by Jesus and might be loosely applied to the Temple with all its connected ornaments and buildings' (*Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel,* 37o). But that *Naos* was used by Jewish writers of Greek to describe not only the House itself, but the inner enclosure and even the outer, may be seen both in the N. T. and Josephus. *In Matt.* xxvii. 5 Judas is said to have *thrown the silver pieces into the Naos, which* cannot have been the House but one of the courts about it. (For va61 in its proper sense see Matt. xxiii. 35 ; Luke i. 21 f. ; in ii. 27, 371 46, and in Acts xxi., Luke correctly uses tep6v.) Similarly Josephus, v. *B.J.,* v. 3 § 201, speaks of `one gate, that outside the Naos, of Corinthian bronze ' ; it stood outside the Court of Israel, if not even outside the Court of Women. And in xv. *Ant.* xi. 3, while employing Naos of the House itself (§ 391, etc.)

till the Procuratorship of Albinus (63-64), says Josephus, was the Temple finished.'[1] Six years later the House with all its cloisters sank in fire, never to be replaced.

Solomon's Temple had consisted of a House, with an inner chamber known as the Debir or Back, and an outer called the Flekal, Palace, or Temple. In front it had a Porch, a Fore-Court, with the Altar of Burnt-Offering, to which all Israel were admitted, and a great Outer or Lower Court which surrounded also the Palace-Court and other royal buildings.[2] The Second Temple was a House of the same scale and disposition as the First. It had more than one court, probably two, as Ezekiel prescribes ; but his reservation of the inner one to the priests does not appear to have been enforced for a considerable period .[3] The first recorded exclusion of the laity from the neighbourhood of the Great Altar is under Alexander Jannmus (103-78 B.C.), who put up a barrier round House and Altar,' after the crowd pelted him with citrons.[4] But it is precarious to conclude that so personal a trouble was the whole origin of the reservation of the inner court to the priests. Along with other developments, like the Court of Women and the exclusion of foreigners from the inner Temple, the reservation of the Altar-court to the priests may have been realised during earlier centuries, when the Temple area was enlarged by new substructures ;[6] and when the rigorous distinctions of the

Its Various Divisions.

also applies it both to the inner (401) and to the whole Temple, inner and outer, 7dv vadv *eirarra* (396). In the conversation described in John ii., our Lord and the Jews used either *Baia* or *liekal,* both of which were applicable either in the stricter or looser sense ; and whichever was used it was natural for the Evangelist to employ the same Greek word to translate it in both cases.

[1] xx. *Ant.* ix. 7 ; in xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 Josephus states that cart of the Naos fell and was rebuilt under Nero.

[2] Above, pp. 61 f.

s Above, p. 3o9.

[4] Vol.i. 410.

[5] Above, p. 386.

Law were gradually enforced, if not in the Persian period then under the Maccabees. In any case the following delimitations appear in the area of Herod's Temple, and he cannot be supposed to have invented any of them. Herod's Temple consisted of a House divided like its predecessor into the Holy of Holies, and the Holy Place ; a Porch ; an immediate Fore-court with the Altar of Burnt-offering ; a Court of Israel ; in front of this a Court of Women ; and, round the whole of the preceding, a Court of the Gentiles.[1]

'The House' itself, the Naos proper, occupied the site of its predecessors, to the west of the rock es-Sakhra. The House proper' Divisions and Contents. The ground-plan was the same, the interior being 60 cubits by 2o, divided into the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place. Before the former, still a dark and empty cube of 35 feet, known by its ancient name Debir, but also as the House of Atonement, hung a Veil, *the Veil of the Naos* according to the Gospels, the *second veil* of Hebrews ;[2] the Rabbinic tradition was of two curtains with a cubit between them.[3] The Holy Place or Flekal proper

[1] The data for Herod's Temple are found in Josephus, xv. *Ant.* xi. 3, *5; v. B.J. v.*, with other passages describing the revolt under Gessius Florus and the siege by Titus. The Mishna tractate Middoth' (ed. Surenhusius, vol. v., with R. Obadiah of Bartenora's and other commentaries ; an Eng. trans. is given in the *P.E.F. Q.*, 1886, f.). See also the *Beth hab-Bechereh* of Maimonides (which I do not have in the original ; Eng. trans. in *P.E.F.Q.*, 1885). Modern descriptions and reconstructions are many, of which there may be mentioned Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi Hierosolymitani; Opera Omnia,* 2nd ed. vol. i. 333 f. (1699) ; Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews,* pt. ii. (1878); Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judaa, etc., i.* 142 ff. (189o); Waterhouse in *Sacred Sites of the Gospels,* io6 ff. (1m); see also the various Bible dictionaries and manuals of archaeology.

[2] Mark xv. 38 ; Matt. xxvii. 51 ; Luke xxiii. 45 ; Heb. ix. 3.

[3] *Mishna,*' Middoth ' iv. 7, with R. Obadiah's note : Yoma ' v. i ; Moses Maimonides, *Beth /tab-Bechereh, iv.* 2.

was still 4o cubits by 20, but 4o instead of 30 high. Over it lay a second chamber of 4o more, which with the solid foundations, 6 cubits high, the ceilings and roof, made Too cubits in all. The Holy Place held the same dirniture as the Second Temple : the Altar of Incense, the Table of Shewbread and the Lamp, now with seven branches.[1] After what we have seen of the symbolism of Solomon's Temple, it is interesting that Josephus should ascribe to these objects a cosmic meaning.[2] The doorway was 20 cubits by 1o, and had double doors with a magnificent Babylonian curtain on the outside, of various colours symbolising the elements, ' as it were an image of the universe.' Upon beams in front of this trailed the Golden Vine, of the size of a man, to which liberal worshippers contributed leaves and clusters. The Porch was rebuilt as a great propylaeum, T T cubits deep and of the same height, wo cubits, as the House behind it. But it was also Too cubits broad, or 15 more on either side than the exterior breadth of the House behind, which was 70 cubits.[3] The vast entrance, 70 cubits high by 15 broad, lay open without doors, manifesting, says Josephus, `the unobstructed openness of heaven.'[4]

Herod outraged Jewish feelings by hanging above this symbol of heaven a golden eagle with the name of his friend Marcus Agrippa. When the eagle was pulled

1 As shown on the arch of Titus in Rome.

[2] *v. B.J. v.* 5 ; see below, p. 527.

[3] Josephus makes it 20 cubits broader on each side, but agrees with the Mishna (` Middoth ' iv. 6 f.) on too cubits as the breadth and height.

[4] V. B.J. V. 4 : rou yap *oipavol 7-6 ciOavis sal clUKX€Lo-rov 6,gcbatve.* T(.) *dckavls* might be taken as Jew-Greek for a prospect on which `nothing appears' to obstruct the vision ; but Bekker emends to *rd* kaves, which Aristotle uses for the void of space' (Liddell and Scott). In either case the meaning is the same. Middoth ' iii. 7 gives the opening as 40 by 20 cubits.

down in the riots of 4 B.C., he seems to have felt the act more as an affront to himself than as sacrilege against God. He was naïvely right. The imperial eagle and some distinguished Roman or other were always fixed in Herod's heaven.'

We are thus asked to conceive of a building 172 feet long from east to west, and (if all its base was visible) 172 feet high, whose propylaeum was also 172 broad, while the House behind was only 120. As a lion is narrow behind but broad in front, so the Temple was narrow behind but broad in front.'[2] The height may seem excessive, but besides being attested by Josephus and the Mishna independently,[3] it is very credible in the light of Herod's ambitions and the limits within which these had to .work. He did not dare to alter the ground-plan or interior arrangements, but he

Its General Appearance.

The names given in Middoth ' (cf. Kelim ' i. 9) are rnm-h, the whole House, applied to the building with the porch (iv. s) ; the Nabs proper (see above, p. 50o *n. 2);* ha-hekal, palace or temple properly (as before) the Holy Place (iv. 7, Maimonides, *Beth hab-Bechereh,* vii. 22) ; perhaps also applied to the House as distinct from its porch (iii. 8, iv. i : so certainly in the Talmud); and to the House inclusive of the porch (iv. 6 f.). The Holy of Holies was 1340-r7ri 0-0 n+z, also chon and miDlri 1-143, or House of Atonement (0.T. mW It is also called -on but an interesting instance of how the original meanings of names are forgotten is the Talmudic derivation of this, from in, word or oracle *(Talc. Jerush.,* Ber.' iv. 8 *c.).* The Holy Place was 5+71, as we have seen. The Porch was 61t.4 The chambers were ***toNn***, The whole was sometimes called Ormon z (used also in a wider sense) ; and rim nN2 and rn, the latter and second House.

[2] Middoth ' iv. 7, ha-hekal ; cf. Jos. *v. B.J. v.* 4, ' in front it had what may be called shoulders on each side.'

[3] The above reckoning (more exactly 172·25 ft.) is on the basis of 20·67 inches to the (sacred) cubit. If we take the later Greek cubit of 17'47 inches, the Temple was 145.58 feet in all three dimensions, the ' House 1o1·9 broad.

could amplify the less sacred porch and increase the height of the whole. If he was forbidden to extend the House, he would at least make it soar ! The whole was built of huge blocks of white stone," with plates of gold upon the front, so that at a distance it appeared like a mountain covered with snow. The roof was protected from birds by a multitude of sharp spikes. It is interesting to note that above the great entrance the courses were five oak beams with a course of stone between each two. Such a detail warns us against attributing to the architecture of the House that Greek style, which many are tempted to give it, because of the Corinthian pillars of the outer cloisters and the Grecian qualities of Herod's military architecture. It was one thing to plan cloisters for the court of the Gentiles, or revetments at the base of fortresses, but quite another to replace an ancient Jewish Temple. While the Temple of Herod was much more lofty than that of Zerubbabel, jealous care would be exercised to model it on the same lines, and priests alone effected its construction. We may conceive of its style either as Babylonian, the builders of the Second Temple having come from long residence in Babylon, or as perpetuating the Phoenician and Egyptian traits which distinguished the Temple of Solomon!' Neither Herod nor his generation were likely to feel incongruous the conjunction of several styles of building on the same area. And that is why all modern reconstructions of the work, except the outer cloisters, must be more or less fanciful.

Twelve broad steps descended from the House to the Court of the Priests,[3] covering nearly all the 22

Twenty-five by 8 by 12 cubits ; xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

[2] Above, p. 62.

[3] tPrrri inn).

cubits which separated the Porch from the Altar." This was the space *between the Temple and the Altar*.[2] No one might stand here while the priest was within offering incense.[3] A little to the south of the steps stood the great Laver which had replaced the Bronze Sea of Solomon's Temple." We have seen reason to believe that the Altar rose upon the rock es-Sakhra. In Herod's Temple the Altar, of unhewn stones, was a massive structure whose base must have been adapted to the irregular surface of the rock ; and, conformably to this, tradition says it was laid in concrete." The base was 32 cubits square and one high. Above it the structure, 3o cubits square, rose five high to a ledge one cubit broad, on which were the horns of the altar ; a little higher another ledge, also a cubit broad, ' the place for the feet of the priests' who officiated ; and above this the hearth itself, 24 cubits square .[5] Two apertures drained the blood into a channel, which carried it off to the Kidron.[7] On the south a slope of masonry led to the ledge on which the ministering priests stood. To the north were the shambles : rings in the pavement, to which the victims were bound and so slain ; marble tables on which they were flayed and washed ; pillars with cross

The Court of the Priests.

Mishna, ' Middoth ' iii. 6.

[2] Matt. xxiii. 35 : *between the Naos and the Altar,* for which the Mishnic phrase is between the Porch and the Altar,' Kelim ' i. 9.

[3] Kellm ' i. 9. Lightfoot (cap. xxxvi. p. 641) suggests a spiritual application of this. 'Kelim ' i. 9 adds none might come here who was blemished or had his head uncovered.

[4] Above, p. 65. Some tables stood beside it for the victims.

[5] R. Obadiah of Bartenora's note to Middoth ' iii. I.

[°] Ezekiel xliii. i6 had fixed the altar as 12 cubits long and broad, but the Rabbis interpreted this as 12 each way *from, the centre;* which harmonised with the 24 of each side given above ; Middoth' iii. I.

[7] Yoma' v. 6 ; Middoth ' iii. 2 ; cf, on the Sakhra above, p, 6o.

beams and hooks from which they were hung and (when necessary) quartered.' It is said that the plentiful supply of water rapidly flushed off the blood and refuse ; but both on the greater festivals and on ordinary days, when the number of private sacrifices was frequently very large, the court must have reeked with blood and flesh. The exact size of the Priests' Court is unknown, for the data conflict. Josephus says that the barrier of stone, which marked it off from the Court of Israel, encompassed the House and the Altar,[2] that is, ran round at least three sides, if not also the back, of the former. But according to the Mishna the barrier ran only on the east of the Court of the Priests.[3]

Therefore, except that it was railed off from the Court of the Priests, and that part, if not the whole of it, lay to the east of this, we do not know the disposi- Lion of the Court of Israel.[4] Josephus implies that it spread round at least three sides of the House and the Priests' Court ; the Mishna, that it lay only on the east of the latter.[5] The Mishna, followed by its commentaries and several modern reconstructions, defines the Court of Israel as an oblong, 135 cubits north and south by 11 east and west. But this appears far too small a space for what was the gathering-ground of all the men

The Court of Israel.

Mishna, Middoth ' iii. 5 ; v. 2 ; cf. Pesabim ' v., Zebahim ' v., and Tamld For the slaughter of victims on the north of the altar, see Leviticus i. so f.

[2] *v. B.J. v.* 6 ; cf. the barrier of Alex. Jannams, xiii. *Ant.* xiii. 5.

[3] Middoth ' ii. 6, where the extension north and south of the Priests' Court and of the Ct. of Israel is the same (see p. 509 *n. 1),* so that the barrier did not run round the House. If we prefer the evidence of Josephus, we have still to decide whether his ' encompassed' means round all four sides of the House. If it does, the Court of Israel included the space of cubits between the Holy of Holies and the inner west wall.

[4] *tilV)1* MIT : Middoth ' ii. 6. [°] Above, *n. 3.*

of the Congregation ; and there is thus a semblance of reason for Mr. Waterhouse's reconstruction, which, ignoring the Mishna, assigns to the Court of Israel a greater breadth .than I t cubits to the east of the Court of Priests ; carries it besides with Josephus round at least the north and south sides of the latter ; and interprets the place for the tread of Israel,' which the Mishna identifies with the Court of Israel, as merely a strip of i i cubits (to the east of the place for the tread of the priests '), on which the laymen stood whose presence was required with their victims near the altar. There are, however, .objections to this, and the data of the Mishna though confused appear capable of another explanation. It seems to me probable that the ambiguity of the Mishna reflects these facts : *first,* that there was once no distinction, but the Court for Israel and the Priests was one ;[1] and *second,* that when the distinction was made and the laity were driven back from the altar,[2] controversies arose about the new delimitation, and that its lines remained for a time (perhaps always) uncertain. The names place for the tread of priests' and place for the tread of Israel' probably represent the first stage in the delimitation when there was still (as before the Exile and for some time afterwards) only one inner court to the Temple. The name Courts' was applied to these separate spaces only later, while the name the whole Court' continued to cover both divisions. Hence the Mishna's undoubted equation of the places for the tread

[1] See'above, p. 501.

[2] Except in cases in which the offerer had to come forward into the Priests' Court for the purpose of slaying his victim himself, or putting his hands on it, or waving it : Kelfm ' i. 8.

of the priests and of Israel respectively with the Courts of the Priests and of Israel may not be wrong, but may merely represent the gradual evolution of the single inner court of the Temple, with places marked off for priests and laity,' into the two or three inner courts of Herod's Temple.'

On the east the Court of Israel was separated by a wall (running north and south) from the Court of Women, which lay fifteen steps lower,[2] but The Court had a gallery high enough to allow the of Women. women to view the services in the Court of the Priests.[2]

Mishna, Middoth ' ii. 6, first states the dimensions of both courts ; each was 535 cubits long (north to south) by 55 broad (east to west); then the dimensions of the whole court,' 187 long (east to west) by 135 broad (north to south) ; v. i. gives the same dimensions for the whole court' : *in* the length (east to west) it includes the place for the tread of Israel' and that for the tread of the priests,' which are also 55 cubits each, and there. fore obviously the same as the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests in ii. 6. Lightfoot (cap. xvi. p. 59o), who treats this part of the subject with an unusual disregard of detail, calls the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priestg one court, evidently feeling that the delimitation of them is impossible. Nearly all modern descriptions fight shy of the conflicting data ; most of them follow the Mishna in giving the breadth of the Court of Israel at 55 cubits, but with Josephus (and against the Mishna) they carry the court round the north and south of the House, some of them even round the back of it. Waterhouse *(Sacred Sites of the Gospels,* 11 5 f.) treats the difficult question more carefully and with originality. In opposition to the Mishna he takes the whole court' as meaning only the Court of the Priests, and the place for the tread of Israel ' a strip within this to which laymen were permitted for purposes of sacrifice (see above), and assigns to the Court Of Israel a considerable extension to the east. One cannot but sympathise with so reasonable an arrangement. At the same time, it is only possible if we assume that Middoth ' is altogether wrong in identifying the Court of Israel with the place for the tread of Israel ' : a precarious assumption. On the whole, I think the explanation which I have suggested above is the most probable.

[2] The Court of Israel (or at least its eastern end) lay on substructions which' were necessary from the slope of the hill, and which formed vaults opening into the Court of Women : Fm. 'Mid.' ii. 5 f.

[3] Middoth ' ii. 5,

Except this gallery, all the Women's Court was open to men. It was a large court, 135 cubits square, and probably the finance with much other business of the Temple was transacted within it. There is no direct statement of this.' But we may infer so from the comparative size of the court, from the large chambers at its corners and the vaults under the Court of Israel which opened on to it, and from the fact that the treasures and private deposits [2] which the Temple held were certainly kept within the inner Temple, while the business they involved would more naturally be transacted in the Court of Women than in either the Court of Israel or the Court of the Priests, which were devoted to the worship and to processes immediately pertaining to this. In the Women's Court, then, we are to place the Temple strong-rooms and the thirteen trumpet-shaped money-boxes into which the faithful put their legal and voluntary offerings.[3] The Gospels certainly imply that women had access to these, and describe them by one word—the Treasury : *the crowd cast money into the Treasury, and a poor widow coming up cast in two lepta*.[4] In another passage the name seems to be given to the Women's Court as a whole .[5]

[1] Compare the statement that it was 'the camp of Levi.'

[2] See vol. i. 365 ; vol. ii. 428.

[2] For the size of the court and the chambers, Middoth ' ii. 5, Of the m¡nt, or trumpets," Shelsalim ' vi. I, 5, says merely that they stood in the Mikdash or Mikdash shel-baith, the sanctuary of the House ; that six were for freewill offerings and seven for specific dues which are named. Josephus, xix. *Ant.* vi. I, says that the *7a095:Adtctow* was in the inner enclosure of the Temple ; the yagimpu?witc'a, which he mentions in v. *B.J. v.* 2 and vi. *B.J. v.* 2, are all the chambers or n15Fglj which lay round the walls of the whole inner court, and not merely the treasuries in the Women's Court. Yet in the former passage he associates them with this Court.

[4] Mark xii. 4i ff.; Luke xxi. I f.

[5] John viii. 20 ; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 24, 28.

The Court of Israel was surrounded by a high wall (25 cubits= 43 feet), with a cloister and chambers on the inside, while round the outside ran a -narrow terrace known as the IJel, or fortification,' and outside this the Soreg, a latticed barrier, with copies of the inscription warning foreigners not to pass within on pain of death.[2] The question is whether the Court of the Women did not also lie within this double boundary of 1:161 and Soreg, fortification and ritual fence. Josephus appears to imply that it did.[3] In one passage the Mishna implies that it lay outside, but in others that it was included.[4] The inclusion has thus a large balance of evidence in its favour, and is in itself the more probable supposition. The notices on the Soreg warned off only foreigners, and not Israelite women. The Jews would hardly have left their women outside the protective enclosure, and nearer to the Gentiles in the great outer court than to themselves. The same consideration applies to the treasuries, which were always placed within the Sanctuary,' and to the money-boxes, to which indeed the Gospels clearly state that women had access. On the whole, therefore, the inclusion of the Women's Court within the Inner Sanctuary is extremely probable, if not certain ; and we must again read the ambiguities of the Mishna as reflect-

Did it lie in the Inner Temple?

' The tlel (5+ri) was properly both the wall and the terrace of II cubits round the outside of it : 'Kelim ' i. 8.

[2] Vol. i. 425.

[3] xix. *Ant. vi.* I.

[4] Middoth ' i. 4, which gives only three gates on each of the north and south sides of the Court.' Middoth ' ii. 6, which gives four gates on each of the north and south sides—and calls one of the former 'the gate of women.' Kelim ' i. S distinctly states that the Ct. of Women lay within, and was holier than, the UM.

[5] Sec the LXX. of Neh. xiii. 7 ; also 2 Macc. iii. 24 ff.

ing a dim recollection of different stages in the history of the Temple : one when the Court' had but three gates on the north and on the south respectively ; and one when a separate Women's Court was constructed to the east of it, or (at least) included within it, and the Court' had four gates on each side : the latest and most easterly of each row opening into the Women's Court.' The Women's Court, then, was one of the latest developments of the growth of the Temple, and the memory of this was preserved in the wall which ran between it and the court of Israel ; as in the tradition that it was less holy than the latter.[2] In the last years of the Temple, when the Evangelists and Josephus knew it, the Women's Court had become an integral part of the Inner Sanctuary, within the Hel and the Soreg ; and of this the Mishna, too, has preserved a tradition. The surrounding wall, then, had nine gates, four on the south, four on the north, and one on the east, out of the Women's Court into the Court of the Gentiles. In addition there was a gate between the Courts of Israel and the Women, the gate of Corinthian bronze. Which of these two gates opening to the east is to be identified with the Gate of Nikanor, and *the Gate Beautiful* is uncertain.[3] The Mishna implies that the Gate of Nikanor was the inner of the two.[4]

Everything that has been described up to this point—

[1] For an argument that the Ct. of the Women lay outside the wall, the Ha and the Soreg, see Buehler, *Jew. Quart. Rev.*, 1898, July and October.

Kelim ' i. 8. [3] Acts iii. 2.

[4] Middoth ' i. 4 ; in ii. 3 it seems to set this gate on the boundary wall of the Inner Temple, which it now (ii. 6) implies enclosed the Women's Court. These passages, as we have seen, may reflect different stages in the growth of the Temple.

the House proper, the Court of Priests with the great Altar, the Court of Israel, the Court of Women with the Treasury — possessed a special Lein, sanctity and lay within their own double enclosure : a high, towered and gated wall, surrounded by a narrow terrace, the tiel, and a ritual fence, the Soreg. They formed the Inner Temple, the Second Temple, the Sanctuary, as Josephus variously defines it ;[1] the Temple (proper) according to the Soreg inscription ;[2] in the Mishna the Sanctuary, or the Sanctuary of the House,[3] or even the House and House of the Sanctuary,[4] in that wider sense to which both these terms might be stretched according to an ancient practice of the language.° *Minus* the Women's Court, it is also called by the Mishna The Court' or The Whole Court.' ° Only Israelites, and these only when ceremonially clean, could enter the Inner Temple. From the Soreg inwards all was holy ground, though, of course, with varying degrees of sanctity.? But the klel or fortification' constituted the Inner Sanctuary into a fortress as well — a separate citadel which in 70 A.D. the Jews were able to hold for some time after Titus had taken the outer cloisters on the north and penetrated the Court of the Gentiles.°

The Inner Temple, a fortress of the House.

Fourteen steps lower, than the fjel lay the wide outer

[1] Td &sop *lep6p,* vi. *B.J.* iv. 4, *rod 1;aorapco pool,* v. 3 ; *der;repop* lepdp c'vyfov eicaXelro, v. *B.J. v.* 2. For the ' First Temple' see above, p. 495 fl. 3.

[2] Vol. i. 425, within its double enclosure of rpt;p5cit, that is the Soreg, and repipoX6s, that is the I:111 and the wall together.

[3] chpn or rpn unpin, Shekalim ' vi. i, 5.

[4] rnn; wipnri rn, Mid.' i. r. [5] Above, p. 256.

Middoth ' i. 4, the Court' with seven gates *(i.e. minus* the Women's Court, which added two more ; see above, p. 512); *Id.* ii. 6, v. x, ' the whole Court.'

[7] For these degrees see *Mishna, 'Kelim'* i. 8 1. [8] vi. *B.J* iv. 4 ff.

Court, the Court of the Gentiles, surrounding the la[w]

The Outer Court or Court of the Gentiles.

Temple on all sides, but with much [the] greatest space on the south, and with [the] next greatest on the east.' The inner, Temple, therefore, did not lie in the middle of the Court of the Gentiles, but towards its north-western corner, round the summit of the Temple-Mount, now the rock es-Sakhra, on which the Altar was placed. We have seen that Herod built vast substructions on the lower slope* of the mount and over the Tyropceon Valley, in order to form this spacious outer Court and lift its surface n[ar] to the level of the Inner Sanctuary, about the sumral[t] thus creating the immense platform, still extant as the outer Haram area. The passages in which Joseph[us] compares the Temple areas of Solomon and Herod [re]spectively[2] are somewhat obscure. Their construction [is] involved, and not without traces (in one passage at [le]ast) of confusion between the very different operations of the two kings upon the Outer Court and its surroun[ding] walls. To begin with, although Josephus states in [one] place that fresh banks, enlarging the Temple area, [were] added at some periods between Solomon and Herod [the] and we have seen this to be the case, during the Greek period, with Zerubbabel's or the intermediate Temp[le] yet in general he speaks of only two Temples, and in [one] passage as if that of Solomon had been succeeded im-mediately by that of Herod.[4] We must understand that by Solomon's Temple area Josephus means *in* this passage the Temple area of Zerubbabel enlarged by the

[1] *Mishna,* Middoth ' ii. i .
[2] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 ; 1 *B.J.* xxi. i ; v. *B.*
[3] *v. B.J. v. 1.*
[4] xv. *Ant.* xi. 3.

High-Priest Simon in the third century B.C., and by others also, as it stood just before Herod began his reconstructions. Again, although Josephus distinctly states that Herod's Temple area was double that which preceded it," yet in another passage he describes Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall as `starting from the root' or `bottom,' that is of the Temple-Mount.[2] But if Solomon's Temple area had covered the whole Temple-Mount from the bottom (as the .klaram area now does), n[o] room would have been left, at least on the eastern [s]lope, for Herod's extension of the sacred precincts ; and [o]n sides, we have seen that in Nehemiah's time there were [h]ouses on this eastern slope between the Temple en-closure and the City wall above the Kidron.[3] Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall must therefore have risen [o]n he east, not from the bottom of the Mount but some [w]ay up it. In fact, in this last passage the description of [th]e outer enclosure—' carried to a [great] height[4] so that [th]e extent and altitude of the structure, which was rect-[a]ngular, was immense, . . . and he filled up the hollows [r]ound [the inside of] the wall till he made them of the [s]ame level as, and flush with, the surface of the upper [par]t of the Mount '—reads as if it had been originally [inte]nded, for a description rather of Herod's Temple area than of Solomon's.[5] In any case the description agrees

[1] *B.J. xxi. I: 'he* rebuilt the Naos, and round it he walled in a space [do]uble that which was' already enclosed.
[2] *ay. Ant.* xi. 3 (398 in Niese's edition).
[3] **I Vol. i.** 599 f.
[4] ▶Or 'carried forward to the depth [outside],' xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (398).
[5] **# As it** stands the passage, xv. *Ant.* xi. 3 (398-400), is undoubtedly ***paged** so as to read as a description of Solomon's Temple, for (i) Solomon's **the** name mentioned immediately before it, 398 ; and (2) immediately **after,** it is still the older Temple area which is described, as being *a*

with the present disposition of the Haram, whose enclos. ing walls spring from the root ' of the Temple-Mount, whose outer area rests upon hollows filled up' by vast substructions, and whose higher central platform, repre-senting, in part at least, the Inner Temple of Josephus, lies round the summit' of the Mount, the rock es-Sakhra. And we have already seen evidence that at least the south-west corner of the Haram, the south wall and the east wall as far north as the so-called Golden Gate,' its Herod's masonry.' It is true that the colonnade along the inside of this wall was called Solomon's, and that Phce-nician letters have been discovered on some of its lowest courses. But neither of these facts can be taken as proof either that the wall dates from Solomon's time or that Solomon's outer and lower Temple wall stood so far east as this. For the name Solomon's Porch, like many other structures called after that monarch, does not imply that he built it, and the Phoenician letters may have been mason-marks as late as the time of Herod.[2] We have also seen that the north wall of the Haram is probably not Herod's. The north wall of his Court of the Gentiles lay further south, crossing the present Haram from a point a little north of the Golden Gate to near the Bab en-Nrair. The Mishna defines the Temple area as a square of 500 cubits, that is 86o feet.[3]

Inside these outer walls Herod erected magnificent colonnades. The finest was the southern, the **Stoll'**

stadium in each direction, and as having been adorned by many kings in former times, and by Herod himself with the spoils he had taken frog* Arabians. But either Josephus has written the whole section hurriedly, 614 in the description quoted above Herod must be taken as the nominative tai the verbs; or else the sentences have become disarranged.

Vol. i. 232 1. [2] **Vol. i. 233, 238** *n*. 3. [3] Mid.' ii. i.

Basilica or Royal Cloister, with 162 Corinthian columns in four rows. Each of the others had two rows. The eastern was known as Solomon's.' At least eight gates t pierced the walls. On the north was the Gate Tadi.[2] On the east was the Gate Shushan, probably that now called the Golden,' the masonry of which appears to belong to a later period than the Herodian. On the south, low down in the wall, were at least the two Gates of Huldah, the present Double and Triple Gates, with passages leading up under the Royal Cloister to the Inner Temple. These gave way to the Temple from the Lower City. On the west the Mishna records only one gate, Kiponus ; but, with the bulk of the City on the West Hill, there must have been more. Josephus mentions four. The fragment known as .Robinson's Arch, the lintel of an old gateway which appears a- little to the north, and, still further north,' Wilson's Arch, probably indicate the positions of three of these gates.

The Outer Cloisters and Gates.

The Outer Court within its massive, strongly gated walls, was known to the Jews as the Mountain of the House.[3] The name, so far as Herod's Temple is concerned, is an anachronism ; reminiscent of days ,when this part of the East Hill was an actual mount, with the Temple disposed round its summit; and, below the Temple wall, houses down the slopes to Ophel on the south, and to the edges of the valleys which encompassed it west, east and north-east.

Other Names for the Outer Temple.

1 John x. 23 ; Acts iii. r r f., v. t2. [2] Mid.' i. 3.

[3] rozn in distinguished in Middoth' i. t from the Court' or Inner Sanc-tuary (cf. i. 3, five gates to the Mt. of the H. with i. 4, seven to the Court), and still more clearly in ii. r, where it is described as east, west, north and south of the latter ; cf. ii. 3 where the Sorcg is said to be inside of it.

But now the mount was masked beneath an artificial plateau within walls that rose from ' its root' nearly to the level of its summit. The Jews seem, too, to have applied to the Outer Court the name Birah or Castle, yet this may also have been used as in former times for the whole Temple.' The Court of the Gentiles is variously designated by Josephus as the First, Outer and Lower Temple.* Taken along with the Inner Temple, he calls it `the whole Temple.'[3]

Such, then, was the Third Temple of Jerusalem : sanctuary within sanctuary, fortress within fortress—with an adjunct and dominating castle off its north-west corner. We are standing on the road from Bethany as it breaks round the Mount of Olives, and are looking north-west ; this is what we see. Instead of the round and steep Temple-Mount, which has hitherto been visible, the fourth eminence of the East Hill, with a Temple disposed about its summit, but on its lower slopes houses girdled by the eastern wall of the City ; there spreads a vast stone stage, almost rectangular, some 400 yards north and south by 30o east and west, held up above Ophel and the Kidron valley by a high and massive wall, from 50 to 150 feet and more in height, according to the levels of the rock from which it rises! Deep cloisters surround this platform on the inside of the walls. Upon the east one large gate gives way from it

Appearance of the Whole.

nvi Middoth ' i. 9 ; from the house Motred on the 1j el a winding passage led under the Birah, by which priests who became unclean could pass outside the Temple without treading on consecrated ground. This int• plies that the Birah here means all outside the 101. Yet R. Obadiah in his note says that the whole sanctuary was called the Birah. Cf. Tamtd

[2] V. *B.J. v.* 8 ; vi. *B.J. 1V.* 4. [3] XV. *Ant.* xi. 3, 71 4o2-.

[4] The best idea of the height of the klaram walls is got from Warren's elevations in the *Recovery of Jerus.* facing p. 118. The lowest height was above Ophel, 52 feet ; the highest over Kidron, 170.

into the Kidron. On the south, two and perhaps three gates pierce the wall below the level of the cloisters and lead up under these to the middle of the platform. Through the west wall four gates give entrance from the Upper City, which rises theatre-wise in the background and is topped by Herod's Towers and Palace. On the north wall one, gate leads in from the overlooking suburb of Bezetha. Every gate has its watch, and other guards patrol the courts.' The crowds, which pour through the south gates upon the great platform, for the most part keep to the right ; the exceptions, turning westwards, are excommunicated or in mourning.[2] But the crowd are not all Israelites. Numbers of Gentiles mingle with them ; there are costumes and colours from all lands. In the cloisters sit teachers with groups of disciples about them. On the open pavement stand the booths of hucksters and money-changers ; and from the north sheep and bullocks are being driven towards the Inner Sanctuary. This lies not in the centre of the great platform, but towards its north-west corner. It is a separately fortified, oblong enclosure; its high walls with their nine gates- rising from a narrow terrace at a slight elevation above the platform, and the terrace encompassed by a fence, within which none but Israelites may pass. This Inner Sanctuary and fortress is nearly 185 yards from east to west and some 77 from north to south .[2] Upon its

1 Philo, *De Praemiis Sacerdotum,* vi. The *Mishna, `Mid.'* i. 1 f., describes the watches at the corners, and at only some of the gates, besides the patrols ; but the whole passage seems to refer to the discipline during the night.

[2] Middoth ' ii. 2.

[3] The whole court,' 187 cubits, *plus* the Court of Women,' 135 cubits (' Mid.' ii. 5 1. v. i.)= 322 cubits. At 2o'67 inches to the sacred cubit, most probably the one used, we get 554.64 feet, or nearly 185 yards. If we add to this twice the breadth of the 1161, 20 cubits.- 34.45 ft., we get 5S9 ft. The breadth (N. to S.) without the 1161 was 135 cubits, which on the same reckoning is 232'53 ft.

higher western end rises a House, like a lion, broad in front and narrow behind '-57 yards broad in front and of that length and height throughout. From the open porch of this House stone steps descend to a great block of an Altar, perpetually smoking with sacrifices ; and to the north of the Altar are its shambles with living animals and rows of carcases. Priests in white garments move to and fro among these objects, or ascend the slope to the Altar, or stand round its hearth serving the sacrifices, or pass up and down the steps to the House. East of all this runs a barrier, and the space outside is packed with men. Then a wall and the lower eastern end of the Inner Sanctuary : the Temple-Treasury and exchange, filled with a crowd of Levites in charge of the people's offerings, hucksters, money-changers and worshippers on their way to the inner court, and above them a gallery of women. Off the north-west of the Outer Sanctuary a castle dominates the whole from its four lofty towers. Beyond, as has been said, the Upper City rises in curved tiers like a theatre. Against that crowded background, the Sanctuary with its high House gleams white and fresh. But the front of the House glittering with gold plates is obscured by a column of smoke rising from the Altar ; and the Priests' Court about the latter is coloured by the slaughters and sacrifices—a splash of red as our imagination takes it in the centre of the prevailing white. At intervals there are bursts of music ; the singing of psalms, the clash of cymbals and a great blare of trumpets, at which the people in their court in the Inner Sanctuary fall down and worship.'

[1] 2 Chron. xxix. 26 ff. ; *Mishna,* T amid' vii. 3, etc.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TEMPLE AND THE LORD

SUCH were the Shrine, Altar and Courts which constituted the last Temple of Jerusalem. We have now to examine the worship they embodied, and this not merely in order to complete our survey of the Jewish religion through the history of the First and Second Temples,' but because from the short-lived Third Temple, Israel's final and most elaborate sanctuary, tradition has dated the origins of Christianity [2]—in the promise of an immediate Messiah, revealed during the routine of its worship and to the prayers of its regular congregation. The Third Temple was that to which Christ came, which He used, and which He judged ; that to which for a time His disciples adhered, and their relinquishment of which formed the most potential crisis in the history of the Church. Part of the historical connection between the two religions thus ran through the Third Temple. And whatever of essential difference distinguished the new from the old is best illustrated by the principles of its worship. In the main the difference was one between an Institution and a Person. The Messiah promised to the Temple supplanted the Temple.

The Temple : Israel and Christianity.

[1] Above, pp. 72 ff., 310 ff. Luke i.,

It is this religious revolution which forms the subject of the present chapter, and leads our long work—begun among the physical rudiments of the life of Jerusalem, and pursued through the closely interwoven developments of her economy, politics and religion—to its end in Jesus Christ. Put what meaning we may into the facts, History has nowhere else such facts to offer. Nor is our assurance of them dependent on still unfinished processes of criticism. About the broad results there is no question ; the rise of a new religion from the heart and the home of the old one, the hesitating steps upon which at first it ventured, and its final break from the Jewish system in the faith that all which this had mediated was become more directly and surely possible through the Person and Work of Jesus. Even before the great Sanctuary perished at the hands of Rome, and Israel's Altar was for ever quenched, Jesus in the experience of His followers had taken the place of the Temple and of everything for which it stood.

The Temple Worship—1. The Nation.

The Temple was the approach of a Nation to their God. Israelites alone could enter its Inner Sanctuary, and its standard rites were performed in the name and for the sake of the whole People. At the crisis of the Sacred Year, the Day of Atonement, when the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies alone, he did so as the representative of Israel ; conversely his sins were theirs, and the additional offering which he made for himself covered them also.' The Tamid or ' Standing Sacrifice,' offered twice a day on the

Lev. iv. 3 : Patrick Fairbairn's *Typology, ii.* 263 f.

high altar, was the offering of the Nation.' Every Jew contributed to its maintenance.[2] So closely was it identified with th(t public welfare, that in times of stress all other sacrifices were abandoned before it was, and its stoppage meant the utmost calamity to the state.[3] Each of its celebrations was attended by a formal committee of the nation,[4] and its national character was further expressed by the seven Psalms appointed for its weekly rotation.[5] The Gospel of Luke opens with the service of incense accompanying the Tamid. *And the whole multitude of the people were without praying at the hour of incense :*[6] this, though it seems an exaggerated expression, is a formally correct description of the lay congregation which attended every service of the Tamid. Compare the communal phrases which follow : *to make ready for the Lord a people prepared; the throne of his father David, and lie shall reign over the house of Jacob ; He bath holpen Israel His servant that He might remember covenant mercy towards Abraham and his seed for ever ;* the similar phrases, of which the Song of Zacharias is full; and finally, *looking for the consolation of Israel.'* That Luke, the Gentile evangelist, should have depicted

[1] -rnrin or -onnn r6/) : Num. xxviii. 3 ff. ; Dan. viii. i 1 ff., xi. 31 ; *Mishna,* Tamid' ; a whole burnt-offering and meal-offering accompanied with a service of incense.

[2] Vol. i. 357, 359.

[3] Daniel viii. is ff. ; xi. 31; xii. is; Josephus vi. *B.J.* ii. 1; *Mishna,* Ta'anith ' iv. 6: i+brin

[4] Israel was divided for the purpose into twenty-four watches,' representatives of each of which in succession formed with the corresponding `watch' of Priests and Levites a `station' for the service. *Mishna,* `Ta'anith ' iv. z ff.; to be corrected by the corresponding passage in the *Tosephta ;* cf. *Mishna,* Tamid' v. 6. For details see Lightfoot, *Mini slerium Templi,* vii. 3 *(Opera i. 7oo) ;* Scheirer, *Geseh.(3) ii.* § 24 n.

[5] Psalms xxiv., xlviii., lxxxii., xciv., lxxxi., xciii., xcii. ; Tamid' vii. 4.

[6] Luke i. so.

[7] Luke i. 17, 32 54, 68 *ff.;* ii. 25.

this communal character of the Temple worship is proof of his fidelity to historical situations of which he had not been an eye-witness, nor with which he had any congenital sympathy ; and the proof is the more emphatic if, as Professor Harnack has argued, the early chapters of the Gospel are not a translation from an Aramaic document, but Luke's own reproduction of oral tradition.' Thus the worship of the Temple was corporate, communal, national. Although, as we shall see, there was room for the individual piety which Jeremiah asserted contemporaneously with the Deuteronomic proclamation of the Covenant as one with all-Israel, yet:the latter was the dominant and organic principle of the worship ; and the individual took his part in this only as a member of the Chosen Nation.

2. The Gentiles and their Sacrifices.

But secondly, the Prophets had predicted the coming of the Gentiles *to the mount of the House of the Lord—My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all peoples* ;[2] and the Law had provided for the admission of proselytes and implied that sacrifices might be rendered by those who were alien to Israel.' The kinds of offerings acceptable from them. were even defined.[4] Such hopes and tolerances were signalised by the Court of the Gentiles. The most spacious of all the divisions of the Temple, it typified a

Luke the Physician, Eng. trans., especially 52 f., 24, 96-105, 599. If, as Harnack argues, Luke composed the Magnificat and the Song of Zacharias, their fidelity to the essential form of the Jewish religion is evidence that he must have been an enthusiastic proselyte to Judaism for some time before he became a Christian. But to an Old Testament student, the other alternative, of translation from Aramaic originals, seems the more probable.

[2] Isa. ii. 2 f.; lvi. 7. [3] Lev. xxii. 25.

[4] *Mishna,* Shekalim ' i. 5, vii. 6 ; Zebattim ' iv. 5 ; Menahoth ' v. 3, 5 f., vi. 1, ix. 8. Gentiles could not place their hands on their offerings.

world gathered about Mount Sion, and suggested the short and single step which still separated the Gentiles from full **communion** with Israel. More obscure is the meaning of the Gentile sacrifices. Offerings had been accepted from the Greek sovereigns of Judæa and other notable foreigners, but the national party were hostile to their admission.' Even if they could be technically regarded as gifts to Israel, to enable the nation to fulfil its own dues to God, the thought can never have been far away that the persons of their donors were also acceptable before Him. We must guard, however, against the opinion that the crowds of Hellenist Jews, and their familiarity with the Greek world, favoured liberal views on the subject. From various motives the Hellenists were even less disposed to relaxation than the Hebrews of Jerusalem' To all alike, the Nation, Israel, was still the human partner in the Covenant with God.

3. The Mediating Priesthood.

But the nation did not make its approach to God, at least through the most intimate stages of this, in the persons of all its members. Whereas in the First Temple the laity had been admitted to the inmost Court, and Solomon had ministered at the Altar, in the Third Temple the laity were excluded by a barrier, and Herod, though king, could not present his own offerings.' Every most sacred rite was performed by priests, and the Holy of Holies was entered by the High Priest alone. This reservation of the immediate Presence of God to one hereditary order, the sons of Aaron, was connected with a change of emphasis among

And protested in 6 A.D. See Schilrer, *Geschichte d. jiid. Volkes, etc.*(3) ii. § 24, Appendix.

[2] Cf. Acts vi. 9 ; ix. 29. [3] Josephus, xv. *Ant.* xi. 5.

the various values attributed to Sacrifice. In primitive times every slaughter of a domestic animal was a sacrament, and every house-father might perform it. In the first sanctuaries of the people the feast shared with the Deity by the worshippers determined if not the sole, yet the predominant, character of the ritual. Even in Deuteronomy, worship is *eating and rejoicing before God.* The priest burnt the fat, the Deity's share of the Covenant feast, and had his own legal due from the flesh ; but his office seems to have been connected more with the oracle than with the victim. The earlier priest was a teacher and a judge,' rather than a mediator or minister of expiation. This festival character of sacrifice was not destroyed by the centralisation of the cultus, but it was greatly diminished. The proportion of sacrifices, which were not feasts but services wholly of atonement, gradually increased, as we may see by comparing the Deuteronomic code with the Levitical, and both with the practice of the earlier kingdom. In the third century B.C., Theophrastus the Greek observed that the Jews do not eat their offerings, but burn them entire.' [2] So absolute a negative is, of course, wrong ; yet it is certain that in the Third Temple the piacular aspects of sacrifice prevailed over every other. And 'in consequence, the position of the priests as the necessary mediators between God and man was deeply confirmed. The consumption of every sacrifice, the offering of blood and incense, the, entrance to the Presence of God, were lawful for priests alone. This requirement of a mediating priesthood and of sacrifice, Christianity

and Sacrifices.

Hosea iv. 6 ; Micah iii. xi; cf. Deut. xxxiii. io, for both offices.

[2] The passage is given in Reinach, *Textes,* etc., 7 f.

took over from Judaism, as an assumed principle of religion.

Israel's 1.pproach to God through priests and sacrifices was made in order to fulfil the Covenant into which He of His mercy had called them, that they might become a holy Nation to Himself. He was very jealous of sins, whether against the moral conditions of the Covenant or against the ceremonial law, which at once expressed and guarded the awfulness of His Presence. He demanded restitution for sins, but in the Temple service He had provided the means for this, and upon the use of the means was ready to forgive and to restore His erring people. Thus the God of Israel, He *was* also Creator of all things, God alone, Omnipotent in Nature and History alike. In the Third Temple we miss some cosmic symbols which were present in Solomon's.' But the seven Psalms of the Tamid celebrate both God's deeds in History and His cosmic power : the latter 'especially in the verse which opens the series, and in the Psalms of the fifth and sixth days of the week.' And, if Josephus be right, the vast entrance of the Porch symbolised Heaven, the colours of the First Veil the elements, the Seven Lamps the Seven Planets, the twelve loaves of the Presence the signs of the Zodiac and the circuit of the year : while the Altar of Incense with its thirteen odorous spices signified that God is the possessor of all things, in both the uninhabitable and the habitable world.' [3] Yet amid all this symbolism God Himself was not adored in any material form. One could

4. The God of the Temple.

Above, p. 75 f.

[2] Ps. xxiv. i ; lxxxi., xciii.

[3] *v. B.J. v.* 4 f. There are similar ideas in Philo. Against them see Patrick Fairbairn, *Typology,* ii. 253 f.

represent only His Presence or Dwelling, and this *was* double. God was both the Far and the Near ; above *all* things, filling the Heavens and yet abiding with His people. The antithesis is similar to that in the creed and worship of the First Temple.' During the later centuries and in the silence of the living word of Prophecy, the impression of God's Transcendence prevailed over the experience of His Intimacy, and God of Heaven,' or even Heaven' alone, came to be one of His commonest designations. Yet this conception was linked to the other and nearer by the closest name *men* have ever found for Him : your Father in Heaven?' He had chosen Israel for His own, and He dwelt with Israel. The Temple was His earthly seat ; and the Rabbis accepted the Deuteronomic explanation of this by saying that ' His Name dwelt there the practical and experimental meaning of which we have already learned'

Conformably to this double conception of God's Presence — transcendent and indwelling — the Temple contained a great Altar beneath the open heavens and a Mercy - Seat within a dark and windowless House. From the Altar sacrifices ascended in smoke to the Divine Throne. Smoke symbolised many things to the religious feelings of Israel : God's Presence, the confusion of mortals when they encountered it, His wrath, the torments of the wicked, the evanescence of everything material before the blast of His Spirit. The smoke of sacrifices of which the worshippers consumed part had been conceived as the Deity's share in the feast. But the smoke of the whole

The Double Worship— *a.* Towards Heaven.

[1] Above, p. 74.
[2] *Mishna,* Yoma' viii. 9.
[3] *Id. i. 5.*
[4] Above, p. 311.

burnt-offering was the people's confession of their sin, their surrender through death and fire of the lives He was pleased to take in place of their guilty and forfeit selves. The sin, the contrition, the repentance of a nation—this was what the dark column meant which rose from the Altar and melted away in the infinite purity of the skies. *I have blotted out as a thick cloud thy transgressions, and as a cloud thy sins.* If ethical processes 'Must be expressed in material forms, no sacrament could be more adequate than this, which proved at once the death deserved by sin, its purification by fire, and the disappearance of its blackness and bitterness in the unfathomable mercy of Heaven.

Behind the Altar rose the House, the dwelling of God with men. The vast and doorless Porch was the symbol of an approach as free and clear as opened above the Altar : ' the unobstructed openness of Heaven." But behind were a veil and a door, and after the Holy Place another veil and then a dark and empty room. For as God was invisible and inscrutable yonder, so was He even here. His Presence was darkness itself, and no mind nor hand might image Him. As from the Altar the smoke ascended to the heavens, so into 'the House of the Atonement' they brought the Blood, that also was expiation by death, the Bread of the Presence, and the Incense, which, whatever may have suggested its first use, was regarded as well-pleasing to God, a propitiation (therefore offered first in the outer chamber), and perhaps, too, a symbol of the people's prayers.[2]

b. Towards the House.

[1] Above, p. 503.
[2] Perfumes shed in the presence of kings, cf. Ephes. v. 2; for the placating of wrath, atonement, Num. xvi. 46 *ff.* *ff.* Heb.); prayers, Ps. cxli. 2 ; Rev. v. 8, viii. 3 *f.*

The ethical effect of all this must have been double and contradictory. On the one hand, the faith of the worshippers was drawn into the unseen : *it was anchored within the veil.* From the visible, the material, the finite, their hearts went out to an empty darkness which was the most fruitful suggestion possible of the invisibleness and immateriality of the things which are eternal. From their own works, from rites performed by themselves, their faith was lifted to a work done *for* them and accepted solely of the grace of God. Such, we may take it, was in the main the beneficial influence exercised by the Jewish system on the minds of the worshippers. The Temple carried faith at least in the right direction. *My soul longeth, yea even fainteth, for the courts of the Lord ; my heart and my flesh cry out for the living God.* Nor did the rites, though predominantly national, fail to meet the individual as well. Save in a pedantic logic, these two ideas of religion, the corporate and the personal, are not incompatible. As none know better than we Christians, they may sincerely, and indeed inevitably do, exist together in the consciousness of the worshipper. Moreover, the multitude of private sacrifices for which the Temple provided were wholly personal, while the Psalms of its most national service, the Tamid, emphasise the moral purity required from every individual worshipper? Men *went up into the Temple to pray,* each for himself and after his own temper.[2] For the day of Atonement the Mishna details not only the duties o the High Priest, but the proper conduct of the private Israelite, and inculcates the sincere repentance of every

Ethical Effects.

Especially Psalm xxiv. 3 *ff.* Luke xviii. to.

man? It is true that the sacrifices atoned only for sins of ignorance, whether against the ethical or the ritual laws—the *ignorances of the people,* says the Epistle to the Hebrews[2]—and that, as in the same epistle, conscious crime or apostasy was not remediable by them.[3] But while this was the technical meaning of the Law, spiritual minds must have found in the worship the seals of a more ethical pardon, the means of a deeper sanctification. Behind all was the infinite mercy of God, and the keenest eyes which ever looked into the heart of man saw one who, if not formally excommunicated, was yet an outcast, appeal to that mercy not in vain and go down to his house justified.[4]

On the other hand, the imperfect character of the system must have been felt by those who cherished the loftier ideals and promises of the prophets. That a man could not by himself come through the Inner Sanctuary to God, that a professional priesthood could alone enter the most secret communion with the Deity, that things not ethical intervened between the worshipper and God — such facts were bound to raise questions in the more earnest minds and to leave them unsatisfied.' The Temple itself had not always been monopolised by priestly ideals : it had

Other Ideals —Prophecy.

[1] *Mishna,* `Yoma. ' viii., especially section 9. For a noble exposition of the relation of the modern Jew to the Day of Atonement, see C. G. Montefiore, *The Bible for Home Reading,* Part i. 146

[2] ix. 7 (not *errors):* cf. Lev. iv. 2, **13, 22, 27 ; V. 15 ;** Num. xv. [2]4

[3] Heb. x. 26 ; Num. xv. 3o.

[4] Luke x. 13 f. On the exclusion, if not the excommunication, of the publican, see vol. i. 368 *n.* **2.**

[5] In this connection the reported disuse of animal sacrifices by the Esseites is instructive : Josephus xviii. *Ant.* i. 5 ; cf. Scharer, *Gesch.*([3])*§* 3o, 'The Essenes.'

also been the platform of a purely ethical prophecy.' To devout Jews familiar with their Scriptures, their Sanctuary must have seemed as loud with voices hostile to sacrifice as with the bleating of animals, the murmur of the priests at their ministry, and the cries and music which accompanied the public services. In these very courts Isaiah had announced that God's only requirements from Israel were pure hearts and ethical service. He proclaimed a pardon, free of all rites, to that conviction which comes when God Himself has reasoned with the soul. Jeremiah, too, had here protested that God gave no commandments concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices, but called .upon His people only for obedience? Others outside the Temple had said the same : *I will not smell a savour in your solemn gatherings, . . . but let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness like* a *perennial stream. I desire mercy and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God more than burnt-off erings.*[3] We must also remember that both the ideals of prophecy and the actual experience of the nation had accustomed the mind of Israel to the assurance of pardon apart from ritual. Jeremiah's promise in the New Covenant, *I will forgive their iniquity and their sin I will remember na more,* rested upon the immediate and spiritual knowledge of God possessed by all the individuals of the nation! And the greatest *consolation of Israel* which their history knew had been achieved while the Temple was in ruins and sacrifice impossible, upon the sole basis of the people's sufferings and the free grace of God : *Comfort ye, come*

Above, p. 67. [2] **Isa. i. 10-20; Jer. vii. 22.**
[3] Amos v. **21** ff. ; Hosea vi. 6 ; cf. the sublime passage, xi. 8 f. Jer. xxxi. 31 ff.

fort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and proclaim to her that her service is accomplished, her iniquity pardoned, that she bath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.'

But PropheCy had also associated the redemption of Israel with the virtue and even with the self-sacrifice of a single Personality. He is described in various forms and under different names, yet -with this idea common to them all, that the mediation by which the recovery and the righteousness of the nation are effected is neither material nor mechanical, but lies in the character and service of a voluntary agent. To the earlier prophets this Person is a King. Israel are to be saved from their enemies by his prowess, and to fulfil their life with God under his just government and the influence of his strong and pure individuality.[2] Another prophecy emphasises that in the ideal age everything will depend on personal influence [3] *A man shall be as an hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the tempest ; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken.* So with the Messiah, or promised King.[4] It is remarkable that there is no mention of Temple or sacrificial rites in connection with his office ; his personal power counts for everything. Sometimes, however, and in reflection of the political conditions prevailing, the Priest is associated with the Prince. Theirs is `the equal and co-ordinate duty of sustaining the

Hope of a Personal Mediation.

Isa.' xl. i f. See above, p. 283.
Isa. ix. i ff. ; xi. r ff. (on the genuineness of which see above, pp. 145 f.).
[3] Isa. xxxii. 1 **ff.**
[4] The name Messiah, or Anointed, is given to him in Psalm ii.

Temple and ensuring the brightness of its revelation. The Temple is nothing without the monarch and priest behind it, and these stand in the presence of God,' the essential mediators of the whole system' In Psalm cx. Priest and King are identified as one, again in consonance with the conditions of the (time, for the High Priest is now become also the civil ruler of the people. Thus, however the form may change with the changing politics, the idea is constant. The virtue of the mediation is personal. In the Servant of the Lord this truth reaches its fullest expression. A righteous Israelite or the righteous nucleus of Israel, atone by their sufferings for the sins of the people, and through death rise to glory. In the fifty - third of Isaiah it does not matter whether the Servant be still, as in the preceding chapters, the people personified, or whether at last he be conceived as a single personality.[2] The point is, that the atonement of the nation proceeds through an ethical agent who consciously and intelligently undertakes his mission, and the virtue of whose service lies in the voluntary offering of himself.[2]

[1] The present writer's *Twelve Prophets,* ii. 298 on Zechariah iv.

The *Targum of Jonathan* interprets Isa.' lii., liii. of the Messiah, and later Jewish theology dwells on the sufferings of the Messiah, with explicit reference to Isa.' : Wiinsche, *Die Leiden des Messias;* Driver and Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters;* Dalman, *Der leidende u. sterbende Messias.* The *Targum* excepts the verses on the atoning virtue of the Servant's sufferings as inapplicable to the Messiah, and although certain rabbis appear to have admitted that he bore the sins of the wicked, the idea was foreign and even repulsive to Judaism in our Lord's time. See Schiffer, *Gesch.* (3), Appendix to § 29.

[3] Edghill, *BvidentielYalue.cfP42thecy,* 306 (the whole of this work is valuable for a presentation of the essence of the O.T. religion and its connection with the N.T.), appositely quotes the 'magnificent mistranslation of the Vulgate—oblatus est quia ipse voluit. But the other point ought also to be emphasised : *My servant shall deal wisely ;* that is, knows what he is doing, is conscious from the first of the practical value of his humiliation and sacrifice which to others seems useless and repulsive.

In the presence of such a substitute there is no need of the Temple and its victims. All the virtue associated with the priesthood and the sacrifices is transferred to him, and transferred in the very language of the ritual : *God haat laid on Him the iniquity of us all. For the transgression of My people was He stricken. His life is an offering for guilt. By His knowledge shall My righteous Servant justify many, and He shall bear their iniquities. He bears the sin of many, He makes intercession for the transgressors.'*

But Prophecy had also spoken, as though God Himself shared all this travail and suffering. He makes His people's salvation His own concern and effort, and accomplishes this not in power only but in pain and self-sacrifice. His love is not complacent but sympathetic, passionate. *In all their affliction He is afflicted.* He *pleads* for their loyalty, *reasons* with them in their sin, and *travails* for their new birth. Their guilt costs Him pain as well as anger. Their sins and sorrows are set not only in the light of His countenance, but upon His heart. The Evangelist of the Exile uses of God the same heavy word, *to bear with pain and difficulty,* as he has used of the Servant.[2]

The Travail and Passion of God.

Finally, these truths of Prophecy, or the most of them, had passed before the end of the Temple history, through the forms of vision and of literature, which we know as Apocalypse. Despairing of the redemption of Israel in the present dispensation, and yet believing, in the Divine justice, certain ardent souls and schools in Israel predicted the sudden intervention of

The Jewish Apocalypses.

[1] Isa.' liii. 6, 8, to ff.

[2] For a fuller expression of the above truth see the present writer's *Mae, n Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament,* 174 ff.

God Himself with supernatural forces, resulting in the purgation of this world or even in its overthrow and replacement by new heavens and a new earth. Such ideas had indeed started long before Prophecy closed, and are uttered in several parts of the Old Testament.[1] But they reached their most ardent and systematic expression in a series of Jewish works of the last two centuries before Christ and the first of the Christian era. The various writings from which *The Book of Enoch* has been compiled, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Book of jubilees, The Psalms of Solomon, The Apocalypse of Baruch,* and the older *Sibylline Oracles,* are the most important survivals of what must have been a much larger mass of apocalyptic literature produced in this period by Jews of Palestine and Egypt.[2] The general standpoint described above was occupied by all these writers; and we may easily conceive how the institutions and ideals of Israel's religion would become modified through the apocalyptic expectations visible from it. But,naturally, the different minds which shared this standpoint assumed, different attitudes towards, and laid different emphases upon, the forms which the Law had instituted and the promises which Prophecy had bequeathed to the nation.

[1] See above, pp. 138 ff., on Isaiah: Zephaniah is usually regarded as the first prophet with an apocalypse *(Book of the ?we've Prophets,* ii. 55 f.) The most notable apocalyptic passages of the O.T. are in `Isaiah' xxiv.-xxvii., Joel, Zechariah' xii. -xiv., and Daniel.

[2] English readers will consult ' Apocalyptic Literature' in *Ent. Bal.* by R. H. Charles, and the other works of this leading authority on the subject (especially his *Book of Enoch);* the *Psalms of Solomon,* by Ryle and James; Scheirer, *Hist.* (Eng. trans.), div. ii. vols. ii., iii., §§ 29, 32 f. ; J. E. II. Thomson, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles ; W. J.* Deane, *Pseudepigrapha.*

Their treatment and Institutions of Israel.

As for their theology, the Apocalypses emphasise the Transcendence of God. Heaven is His dwelling and He is the Holy One in the Heavens, the God of glory ; who when He would work for men comes down to them in awful manifestations of power and majesty. Amid these supernatural phenomena, the Prophets' sense of God's intimacy with His People, of His ethical travail and passion, is overwhelmed. Yet Israel is still the human unit for which He works. The Nation is His interest : He will overthrow the heathen oppressors and recreate Israel into a kingdom for Himself. Within the Nation He will discriminate between the righteous and the wicked ; and He will have respect to the individual : even in death, for the righteous dead shall be raised to a share in the kingdom. In fact, the vindication of the individual and the development of belief in his resurrection are among the most signal services of the Jewish Apocalypse to the cause of religion ; it contains no nobler passages than those which enforce the hope of the righteous. With regard to the exact form of so awful a future, we can understand that, as among Christians, so with these Jewish seers, considerable diversity prevailed. Many of them have a strong sense of the steadfastness of the present order of nature ; all the more impressive is the obligation, which their ethical convictions lay upon them, to expect its convulsion and catastrophe. Sometimes they are content to say that God's kingdom will be realised upon this same earth, cleansed and restored to the order which the sin of men has disturbed. The whole of the earth shall be the heritage of the pious : its centre a renewed Jerusalem, from whose security the righteous shall behold

the torments of the wicked in Gehenna,' and themselves enjoy incredible length of days and a serene old age. But sometimes this is not enough, and beyond the present world there breaks the vision of another.[2] A new heaven and earth are revealed, with the righteous translated to everlasting bliss in the presence of God. Some writers almost entirely ignore the Temple, saying nothing about it except that it shall be rebuilt, and absolutely nothing about the Law or Sacrifices. Others carry the origins of the cultus back to primaeval times, from which we may infer their belief in its eternal validity ; and they insist upon animal sacrifices and the punctilious observance of the Law. Some see God alone in the supernatural intervention, which they expect, and in the foundation of the kingdom. Others continue the prophetic hope of a Messiah proceeding from the community ; and in one, the seventeenth of the Psalms of Solomon, He is figured in the prophetic style as a son of David, purging Jerusalem, overcoming the heathen, yet not trusting in military force, but governing by the word of His mouth. Sinless Himself, He shall rule a holy people and tend the flock of God in faith and righteousness. In ' The Similitudes' of the *Book of Enoch*[3] the doctrine of the Messiah assumes an original form destined to have great influence on the New Testament In Daniel, the name *the Son of Man* had been applied to Israel ; but in ' The Similitudes' it is the title of a Person who takes the attributes and name of the Messiah, yet is regarded as

1 As we have seen even under Prophecy, above, pp. 323 f.
2 Cf. Mark x. 30 ; Matt. xii. 32 ; Luke xviii. 30.
3 Chs. xxxvii.-lxx., assigned by Charles either to 94-79 or 70-64 B.C., and reasonably' to the former.

supernatural. He has existed with God, in name at least, from before the Creation, the deliverer and preserver of the elect Israel. He is the Lord's Anointed, who rules over all and judges all, on whose mercy all men at the last shall set their hope.' There is also a difference as to the fate of the Gentiles. For the most part their destruction is predicted, but some of them shall be converted and serve Israel.

To understand what Jesus taught of the Kingdom of God and of Himself, and what through the faith of His followers He effected, it is necessary to appreciate in due proportion all the beliefs and institutions which we have just surveyed. Summary—Three Main Streams in Judaism. And if an Old Testament student may venture to criticise recent New Testament criticism, it appears to him that this suffers, and in certain quarters suffers radically, from failure to allow to one of these religious elements its proper and direct influence on the origins of Christianity. As we have seen, the principal factors in the later religion of Israel were these three. *First,* the Law with its central emphasis upon Institutions, the Temple, the Priesthood, the Ritual ; founded, as much of the Law was, on Prophecy, this emphasis did not exhaust its influence, yet in the practice of the Law by the generation contemporary with Jesus, the Institutions were the main things. 1. The Law—Institutions. *Second,* Prophecy with its depreciation of the Ritual and the Priestly Institutions, and with its three great protestations of the sole, eternal value of Personality : that God requires from a. Prophecy—Personalities. men only ethical obedience ; that their redemption and atonement shall be effected through a

1 See especially *Book of Enoch,* chs. xlvii. 1., lxix.

heroic character and his self-sacrifice, the personality of the Servant of the Lord ; and that God Himself is not mere Law nor Love at a distance, but that even His Personality is engaged in the ethical warfare and passion to which ours are subject. And *third*, Apocalypse, starting within Prophecy as this became conscious of want of room and power in the historical conditions of Israel for the fulfilment of its hopes ; and predicted the fulfilment of these in another dispensation, which is beyond and above the present world, and in which, while the personalities described by prophecy gain in transcendence and supernatural majesty, this is achieved only at the cost of much of their ethical character.

3. Apocalypse —the Super. natural.

These, then, are the three. There never has been any doubt about the discipline of the Law. But if an older generation of critics did less than justice to the influence of Apocalypse upon the conditions out of which Christianity arose, it seems to the present writer, coming up to the study of recent New Testament criticism from long following of the history of Israel, that much of this criticism fails to allow enough to the immediate action of Prophecy. Carried away by the influences on our Lord's time of the Apocalypses, the full appreciation of which has but recently become possible, some critics almost entirely ignore the direct influence, untinged by Apocalypse, of the Hebrew Prophets. By others the main tendencies of religion during the period are defined as only two, the Legal and the Apocalyptic, while the Prophetic is regarded and treated as subordinate. This may be true of some, but not of all, of the popular religion. It is not true of the circles in which Christianity arose, nor of our Lord's

Their Treatment by recent Criticism.

mind whether about the Jewish system or about Himself. While it is impossible to ignore in these certain contributions from Apocalypse, they prove the immediate and the dominant influence of Prophecy.

No one may understand the origins of Christianity who does not realise in them a revival—after a silence of many centuries—of Prophecy,' which, whatever relation it might assume to the ritual and institutions of Israel, felt itself independent of these and delivered its own direct message from God. So in the early chapters of Luke's Gospel. Be their source what it may, they testify to the Church's consciousness of her birth in Prophecy—Prophecy which, though it started in the Temple, was not concentrated on that or any other institution, but struck again its high and earliest notes of the advent of a great Personality, the Messiah of God. This Prophecy (so far as the records go) shows no tinge of Apocalypse. So too with John the Baptist, whose ministry had nothing to do with either Jerusalem or the Temple, but was accomplished outside these, with another sacrament, upon methods purely prophetic, and concentrated on the coming of the Messiah. The colours upon John's preaching may be cast from the Apocalypse ; the ideas are all to be found within Prophecy.[2]

Dominant Influence of Prophecy in the Preparation for Jesus

And so, too, with Jesus Himself. It is everywhere the essential ideas and tempers of Prophecy which pervade His ministry—especially the three emphases upon the sole, eternal value of personality in religion : that what God requires of men is ethical obedience, that their redemption is to be effected

and in the ministry of Jesus,

1 Cf. *Eccc Homo,* ch. i.

2 Luke iii. 2 ff.

through the virtue and self-sacrifice of a single Personality ; and that the Love of God Himself has come to share the ethical warfare and passion of men. But all these are concentrated by Jesus in a new and wonderful way upon His own Person and His unique significance for men. They are complicated, too, by His attitude to the Law, and they reveal the influence of conceptions characteristic of the Apocalypse.

His Practice relative to the Law and the Temple.

The child of a Jewish family loyal to the Law and the Temple,' Jesus was *born under the Law*.[2] He was circumcised, and at the usual age He became' a son of the Law.' It has been said that the New Testament gives us no means whatever of judging how the passive, unconscious relation to the Law was changed into the conscious and responsible one which we see when our Lord entered His public work.'[3] But we must remember that Prophecy, with its free and sometimes hostile attitude to the Law, was also powerful in the circles in which His boyhood was spent ; and that throughout His ministry He not only appealed to the Prophets as well as the Law, and constantly quoted their very words, but used these just on the great points on which they differed from the Law : that God *will have mercy and not sacrifice*, and that the atonement for the sins of men is to be effected by an ethical agent. This, however, is to anticipate, and we now proceed with the details which led to it. The loyalty of Jesus to the ritual was on some sides unexceptionable. The only

1 Luke i., and especially ii. 41 (see Plummer's note).

[2] Gal. iv. 4.

8 Denney, art. ' Law (in N.T),' Hastings' *D.B.* See the whole very illuminating article ; also Mackintosh, *Christ and Me Jewish Law.*

faults of ceremonial with which His vigilant enemies charged Him were His use of the Sabbath, His neglect of fasts, and his neglect of the washing of hands.' He sent the leper, whom He healed, to the priest to fulfil the rites required by the Law? He bade His disciples offer their gifts at the Altar after they were reconciled to their brethren.[3] In defence of His conduct He appealed to the authority of the Temple and the example of the Priests.[4] The sanctity of the Temple, He said, was greater than that of its gold, the sanctity of the Altar than that of the gifts laid upon it.[6] He paid the half-shekel which was the Temple-tax.[6] He attended the statutory Temple feasts. And if all these are only instances of accommodation to the customs of His people, we have besides His anger at the desecration of the Temple which moved Him to the one violent action imputed to Him.' But in general the whole system had for Him a Divine authority. God spake through Moses. The way of life was in keeping the commandments. He Himself had come to fulfil the Law.[8] Yet, on the other hand, the inaugural sacrament of His ministry was, as in the case of Jeremiah,° altogether outside the Temple service ; and it is striking that there is no record of His participation in any of the central rites of the Sanctuary. We do not read of Him as going

[1] In the fragment of an Apocryphal Gospel discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, a chief priest blames Jesus for neglect of the Temple lustrations. *Oxyrhynclizes Papyri,* Part v. i ff.

2 Mark i. 44 ; Matt. viii. 4 : which incident recalls the orthodox feeling against physicians, who did not observe religious forms prescribed by the Law. Above, p. 404.

[3] Matt. v. 23 f. [4] Matt. xii. r ff. [6] Matt. xxiii. i6 fr.
[6] Matt. xvii. 14 ; sec above, vol. i. [7] Mark xi. 15, etc.
I Matt. V. 87 (18) ; xix. i7; Mark vii. 8[9]. [9] Above, p. 224.

further into the Temple than the Treasury, in the Court of Women? All the Gospels agree on this. *Over against the Treasury, in Solomon's P orch,*[3] or generally *walking in the Temple, teaching in the Temple,*[3] are phrases that imply no more than the same outer Court in which He overturned the tables of the money-changers. These comprise all His recorded visits to the Temple. It is also remarkable that while His parables reflect every other aspect of the national life, they do not reflect the worship of the Inner Sanctuary nor the ministration of the Priests. His story of the Pharisee and the Publican is the only one that has the Temple for its scene. Jesus visited the Temple as a Prophet. He *sat in the Temple teaching.*[4] As to Jeremiah, so to Him it was the auditorium of the nation, an opportunity of getting at the hearts of men.[5] -And, therefore, it will not be surprising nor seem the afterthought of a later generation, that the great freedom, whiCh the Prophets had shown towards the ritual and even towards the sacred fabric itself, is also imputed to this new Prophet : for instance, in His saying about the Temple-tax, *the children are free, notwithstanding lest we should offend them, go thou . . . and give unto them for thee and me ;* or *I desire mercy and not sacrifice ;* [6] or His condemnations of the additional laws and ceremonies imposed by the Scribes. To be able to doubt that such sayings were His, is to forget the precedents for them in Prophecy before the Exile : the hostility of some prophets to the whole ritual, and the charge which one at least made

[1] Above, p. 51o.
[2] Mark xii. 41; cf. Luke xxi. z f. ; John viii. 20 ; x. 23.
Mark xi. 27 (Matt. xxi. 12); xii. 35 : *lcp6v* is the word used ; see above, p. 50o. Cf. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 246.
[4] Matt. xxvi. 55. [5] Above, p. 237 f. [6] Matt. xvii. 26 f.

against the Scribes of his time of falsifying the Torah.' Doubts have been expressed of His prediction that the Temple would be destroyed.[2] In spite of its occurrence in all the Synoptics and the echo of it in John, in spite of the fact that it formed the charge against Him before the Sanhedrin, it has been declared conceivable only as `a prophecy after the event,' a prediction invented for Him when the Temple had perished and His followers had transferred its virtue to Himself. No one can say so who remembers Jeremiah's attitude to the Temple and his predictions of its ruin.[3] To take the lowest ground, Jesus was prophesying only what others in Jerusalem had already declared. And in connection with this we must keep in mind His words about the necessity of new bottles for new wine.' In the association in which these appear they can only mean the insufficiency of the forms of the Old Covenant for the new truths and tempers which were on the point of being realised, or which in a sense were already realised, in Himself and in those who believed on Him. His statement : *Think not that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, I come not to destroy but to fulfil,*[5] must be interpreted upon the antithesis which we have seen between Law and Prophecy and in the light of His other saying that *the whole of the Law and the Prophets is* to love God and one's neighbour.

All this, then, is the spiritual liberty of the greater

[1] Jer. viii. 8 f. ; but cf. Isa. xxix. 13.
[2] Mark xiii. z ff. ; Matt. xxiv. f. ; Luke xxi. 5 1 ; cf. John ii. 19. There is also the reference in Matt. xxiii. 38 f. (Luke xiii. 35), *your House is left .unto you desolate ;* cf. Jer. xxii. 5, *this House shall became a desolation.*
[3] Jer. vii., xxvi. [4] Matt. ix. 14 ff. ; Mark ii. 18 ff. ; Luke v. 33 fr.
[5] Matt. v. 17.

prophets. Only by the new Prophet the liberty is exercised (to speak moderately), with a larger patience and the sense of a loftier authority than by any of His predecessors or than by any of His apostles after Him. Jesus shows Himself Lord of both aspects of the religion, rather than as the mere reformer of the one, the mere champion of the other. There is a sovereign quality about His attitude to both the legal and the spiritual sides of the worship which is wanting in theirs. He vindicates His use of the liberty as His own right ; nor does he feel fettered or burdened by the Law when He submits Himself to its discipline, whether He does so out of regard for others or because it is the Law of God. The Law is no painful problem' to Jesus as to His apostles.[1] Law or Liberty, He uses both as master of both. We can see how very hard it must have been for His disciples to understand this dominant, characteristic quality of His conduct ; yet they lived to understand it.[2]

His Sovereign use of Law and Liberty.

With this attitude of Jesus to the Law, we must take His sense of His difference from the Prophets before Him:[8] they were servants, He was the Son. We must take His proclamation of the close of the dispensation, which the Law and the Prophets had mediated, and the opening with Himself of a new age in which they were replaced by something else.[4] We must take the facts that His disciples came to believe in Him as the Messiah—not merely the greatest

His Sense of the Virtue and Significance , of His Person.

Wellhausen calls this das Eigentiimliche ' in Christ's relation to *the* Law ; *Einleitung,* 137.

[2] Especially Galatians 19, v. 6.

[3] Mark xii. r IC, etc.

[4] Luke xvi. e6; Matt. xi. rz f. Cf. Denney as above, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 746.

of Prophets, but the Person to whom Prophecy pointed as the agent of Israel's redemption—and that in some sense He accepted their homage and confessed Himself King of the Jews, for otherwise the Roman procurator would never have decided against Him. He was not Elijah, but John was Elijah. Himself He identified with the Son of Man in the Messianic and transcendental sense of that title given to it in the Similitudes' of the Book of Enoch. Towards Prophetic and Apocalyptic ideals of the Messiah He maintained the same sovereign attitude as we have seen Him hold towards the Law and its institutions. He exercised a liberty of selection. He discarded the political roles assigned to the Christ, but He assumed the ethical authority and the transcendental powers. He set His own word against ,the Law, and He declared Himself the future and ultimate Judge of men. Finally, there was His announcement that by His submission to death, He became to the New Covenant what sacrifice had been to the Old, or, in other words attributed to Him, He *gave His life a ransom for many.* The exact meaning of these sayings has been variously interpreted. But to understand Him it is sufficient to remember that the redemptive value of the sufferings of the righteous, an atonement made for sin not through material sacrifice but in the obedience and spiritual agony of an ethical agent, was an idea familiar to Prophecy. It is enough to be sure, as we can be sure, that He whose grasp of the truths of the Old Testament excelled that of every one of His predecessors, did not apply this particular truth to Himself in a vaguer way, nor understand by it less, than they did. His people's pardon, His people's purity—foretold as the work of a

righteous life, a perfect service of God, a willing self-sacrifice—He now accepted, as His own work, and for it He offered His life and submitted unto death. The ideas, as we have seen, were not new ; the new thing was that He felt they were to be fulfilled in *His* Person and through *His* passion. But all this implies two equally extraordinary and amazing facts : that He who had a more profound sense than any other of the spiritual issues in the history of Israel, was conscious that all tflese issues were culminating to their crisis in Himself; and that He who had the keenest moral judgment ever known on earth, was sure of His own virtue for such a crisis—was sure of that perfection of His previous service without which His self-sacrifice would be in vain. Nor was the agony of the sacrifice abated by His trust in the promise of a glory that should follow. No man questions the story of His mental sufferings or of their crisis in Gethsemane. Yet these were not due to any doubt of His own purity. The records which so faithfully describe His temptations may be equally trusted when throughout they imply His innocence. It is a very singular confidence. Men there have been who felt themselves able to say, *I know,'* and who died like Him for their convictions. But He was able to say *am.* I am that to which Prophecy has pointed,' and was able to feel Himself worthy to be that. Thus Jesus fulfilled the second of the great ethical emphases of Prophecy : He was the Messiah, the Servant of the Lord, through whose self-sacrifice the redemption of men was assured.

But in Jesus there was also fulfilled the third of the Prophetic demands for personal action and sacrifice as the fulfilment of religion. That the love of God was

not merely transcendent and complacent, but travailing and passionate, sharing the moral struggle, the weakness, the pain$_s$ even the shame and curse of the souls of men, is illustrated in Jesus as it is nowhere else. And this not merely in such a parable as that of the Prodigal and all He has told us of the love of the Father, but in Himself and His wonderful expressions of His sufficiency for the needs of the people : such as His *Come unto He all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* None of these is more wonderful than His appeal to Jerusalem, with its *How often would I have gathered you,* and its conclusion that since she has rejected Him she has rejected all.

The travail of the Love of God in Jesus.

In all this, however, He went beyond every precedent in the history and prophecy which we have followed ; and we must seek another scale than that either of the prophet or even of the personality to whom prophecy pointed, by which to measure Him. Just because of this His disciples failed as yet to understand Him, and we must look to the last years of our City's history for the development of, and the full reasons for, their recognition of what He was and what He did.

Conclusion of foregoing Data.

Two things are certain about the earliest community of His disciples, the Church in Jerusalem : first, their belief in the Messiahship of Jesus, confirmed to diem by the evidence of His Resurrection ; and second, their continued adhesion to their Jewish nationality and to the services of the Temple. A third is equally clear—it was the power of His personality upon them which alone enabled them to break

The Church in Jerusalem and the Temple.

from Judaism and its ritual. In the earlier chapters of Acts we find the same communal conception of religion prevailing as in the first chapters of Luke's Gospe1,[1] The apostles address themselves to Israel, the Nation, in forms similar to those which the Prophets used. The whole Christian community is observant of the Law and shares in the national worship of the Temple. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that the early Christians were Jews first and Christians afterwards in more than the sequence of their own experience. They did not indeed value their Christianity less than their Jewish nationality, but they had not yet learned even in thought to separate them.'[2] Even while acknowledging that God had *visited the Gentiles to take out of them a people for His Name,* James, the head of the Church in Jerusalem, quoted the prophecy, *I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen, I will build again the ruins thereof and set it up.*[3] The student of the Old Testament will readily understand this attitude of the Christians of Jerusalem to the Temple and their Jewish nationality. There is a precedent for it in the prophecies of the Evangelist of the Exile.[4] In these, too, a great Redemption is in process, but not yet completed. Israel has to be restored and the Gentiles converted. The Servant by whom the results are to be achieved is an Israel within Israel, the spiritual nucleus of the nation, the rest of which is still blind and unredeemed. Precisely such a Remnant might the early Christians in Jerusalem feel themselves to be : distinct from other Jews by their redemption and

I See above, pp. 523 f.
[2] W. R. Sorley, Jewish *Christians and Judaism,* 33.
[3] Acts xv. 14 ff. [4] Isaiah' xl.-1v.

enlightenment through Christ, yet in Israel and of Israel still, with a duty to the national institutions ; while, at the same time, they sought to lift the whole people to their own spiritual level and were not forgetful of their mission to the Gentiles.

We need not dwell on the troubles which ultimately rose out of this loyalty to the National Covenant : the controversies about Law, Temple and circumcision, that threatened to rend the Church in twain. But it is necessary to remark the following. The movement which finally divorced Christianity from Israel may have begun in Jerusalem in disputes between Hebrews and Hellenists,[1] and he who started the controversy was in all probability a Hellenist. Yet it is fallacious to suppose that the Grecian Jews as a body were less loyal than the Jews of Jerusalem to the national institutions. Stephen's most bitter opponents were of the Hellenist synagogues.[2] His own line of argument, as recorded by Luke, has nothing to do with racial questions, but lies within the method of the Hebrew prophets when dealing with their own people. We are accustomed to call the Baptist the last of the Hebrew prophets, but Stephen was the last ; speaking as Jeremiah himself would have spoken,[3] with the same appeal to precedents in the history of Israel, the same emphasis on the incurable sinfulness of the nation, the same indifference to the sanctity of the Temple, the same fearlessness of death. But the power upon Stephen is throughout the power of Jesus. Stephen is the prophet of the new Messiah, who to him is everything that the Temple and what it stands for is to his opponents. We

Stephen, Paul and Hebrews.

Acts vi. [2] Acts vi. 9 ; and so with Paul, ix. 29. [3] Jer. xxvi.

see the same, but more articulately, in Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In neither of these Jews has the change been wrought by a gradual solution of the national idea and system in the influences of the larger Greek world, nor by the prospect, nor by the fact, of the fall of the Temple. What alone tells with both is the significance of the Personality of Christ. To both He has taken the place of the Temple, the Sacrifices, the Priesthood, just because of what He has proved Himself to be in His people's experience--an atonement for sin, a living way to God, the seeking and suffering Love of God, the Risen Saviour and Intercessor. It is also striking to find how His Person has become the substitute of the national idea, which had been organic in the religion of Israel. The communal conception of religion still prevails, but Christ is the new secret of the unity and the common life. Though The Epistle to the Hebrews is based on the assumption that the old Dispensation has passed, it presents the New Covenant as one not with individuals, but with a *people*,[1] through their great High Priest, Jesus Christ. Though Paul accounts for the rejection of Israel by the words, *I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is no nation*,[2] and affirms that all racial distinctions are abolished in Christ, in whom is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian nor Scythian ; yet he tells the Galatians that they are *Abraham's seed, the Israel of God*.[3] Here, again, the bond is clear. The new community gathered out of many nations are one people, because they are one in Christ. His rank as the Messiah, Lord and King, con-

1 A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, 166.
2 Romans x. 19.
3 Galatians iii. 28 f. ; vi. x6.

stitutes them a nation—a *holy nation, a peculiar people*, as Peter expresses it. Therefore in the reconstruction of religion, which was effected in place of the Jewish system, even before the fabric of this had fallen, the creative force was everywhere the significance of Christ's Person and Christ's work. Everything reaches back to Him and to His infinite longing to open the soul of man to the life in God, unhindered by the mediation of priest and ritual. Thus the fountain of catholicity is in no confluence of philosophies, no combination of external conditions, but in the unique personality of Jesus of Nazareth.'

To the Old Testament student who, like ourselves, has come upon this last stage of the history of Jerusalem through the long centuries of Israel's life and religion, which lead up to it, there is only one parallel to the influence of Jesus upon the Influence of the Divine Character in nation, their institutions and their ideals. As Israel's we followed the gradual elevation of Israel's Religion faith and ethics from obscure beginnings to the clear monotheism of the prophets with its sublime ideals for daily life, the elevating factor of which we were aware was throughout the character of the Deity : God's revelation of His Nature and His Will. We found this at work within the ritual, the customs and the intellectual conceptions of God which Israel had inherited as part of the great Semitic family of mankind ; purifying, expanding and articulating these into the most perfect system of national religion the world has ever seen.[2] We have seen it break the bounds of this nationalism, at once

Parallel between the

1 Martineau, *The Seat of Authority*, 632.
2 Above, pp. 115, 210.

displaying its sovereignty over the world, and drawing the individual man directly to the breast of God. Had the scope of our task been wider, we should have perceived this same influence of the character of God acting upon an ancient folklore and mythology, purging it of its grosser elements, and rendering it expressive of the One Creator and Preserver of the world and men ; we should have followed its effects upon popular religious imaginations—such, for instance, as that of the Day of the Lord, a day of the national deity's vengeance on the heathen, or that of the physical marriage of the deity with his people or with his land—and we should have watched it transform these into the most ethical of hopes and experiences. We should have seen all this done gradually, and, as it were, naturally ; with the age-long patience of the Divine methods in Nature, and yet with the urgent travail and the passion which become the Love of God in the education and redemption of men.

and the Influence of the Person of Jesus.

Very similar, in these last years of the history of Jerusalem, is the working of the influence of the Person of Jesus : gradual and slow to be understood, like all the works of God ; patient and yet full of travail and agony ; in the end transforming and creative. He also started from the names, the forms, the symbols, the intellectual conceptions of the religion of His time. He also selected those which He would use, and put new meanings into them : meanings which are not yet exhausted, but remain as infinite to us as to the hearts that first heard them. And just as in the former development it was the Person, the Character and the Work of God which was everywhere the active Power, so here it is the Person, the Character and the Work of Jesus. Not

His interpretation of God was the new thing which appeared with Jesus, but the new thing was Himself. Not the ideas of the mission which He assumed, for these had all been defined by Prophecy, but the Fact that He felt Himself able for the mission and the Fact that He fulfilled it. The authority which He claimed, the sufficiency for men of which He was conscious—these are His own testimonies to what He was. And the experience of His followers from the time of the Resurrection onward is that He was no less than Lord and God, the fulness of the Divine Grace and Truth.

As a Fact in history all this is not less credible than its anticipation by the prophets ages before. The Love of God could not be satisfied nor perfected in sending to men the knowledge of itself through Prophets and Priests or by the discipline of their own sufferings ; but must itself share, by their side, their weakness, their sorrow, their ethical warfare and passion.

CHAPTER XX

JERUSALEM OF THE GOSPELS

THE Jerusalem of the Gospels was the Jerusalem of Herod, a great engineer and builder of strongholds.' Seated on her two hills and girt by massive walls, ingeniously constructed with curves and re-entrant angles, the City to which Christ came presented the appearance of a gigantic fortress; impregnable on three sides, for here the walls rose from the precipitous flanks of her hills, but on the north they struck across the backs of these and were further fortified by a deep-cut fosse, beyond which lay a suburb of uncertain extent. Round this the Third or outmost wall, probably on the line of the present north wall, had not yet been built. At intervals upon the others towers rose from solid bases, so closely constructed as to seem single masses of stone ; while in front of the gates and other assailable points the rock bristled with counterscarps and similar outworks.[2] Nor did all these exhaust the embattled aspect of the City. Her outer walls embraced a number of separate and independent strongholds. On the East Hill the ramparts of the Temple towered over the Lower City, falling from their feet to Siloam ; and, as the Temple was to the City, so was Antonia to the Temple, a still more eminent citade1.[8]

Warlike aspect of the City.

[1] Above, pp. 483 ff.
[2] Vol. i. 383 f., 387 ff., 393 1., [2]44 ff.
[3] Vol. I. 426 ; vol. ii. 495 ff.

Beyond the Tyropceon rose the longer and loftier West Hill, its streets and terraces disposed theatre-wise,' but with the old First Wall running down the middle of it and so over the Tyropceon to the Temple ramparts.[2] The Hasmonean House, with the Xystus below, stood upon this wall towards its lower end ;[3] in its topmost north-west angle Herod's castellated Palace and three Towers crowned, or rather helmeted, the war-girt figure of Israel's metropolis. But for the broad Sanctuary in her lap, with its snow-white shrine and smoking altar, Jerusalem must have seemed more devoted to war than to religion, more suggestive of siege than of pilgrimage. It is singular to think of the cradle of Christianity in so formidable a fortress.

We have also realised the politics of the City and the tempers of her population. There was, first, the Roman garrison, quartered in the two highest citadels : the Antonia, which communicated by a double passage with the outer Court of the Temple, and Herod's Palace, now the Prtorium or seat of the Roman Procurator when he came up from Caesarea to the Jewish feasts.[4] There was the Sanhedrin, seated in the Temple, with religious and civil jurisdiction over Judaea (but in capital cases subject to the Procurator) and with considerable influence in Galilee and elsewhere.[6] There were the Sadducees and Chief Priests, an ecclesiastical but unspiritual aristocracy, arrogant and unscrupulous, without popular ideals or influence, but ready to employ popular passions, ' able to persuade none save

Politics and the Temple Y[1] tion.

[1] Vol. ii. 44o ff.
[2] Vol. i. 242 f.
[8] Vol. ii. 459, 4[63] f.
[4] Vol. I. 413 ff. (cf. 28) ; vol. ii. 488 ff. See below, pp. 573 ff.
[6] Vol. i. 415 ff. ; vol. ii. 470.

the rich,' but with gangs of bravos in their pay.' There were the Pharisees and Scribes, influential with the multitude and zealous in education ; patriotic and religious in their ideals, but in their methods professional and pedantic, who with one hand kindled the soul of the nation and with the other smothered the soul they kindled by their cumbrous and often desperate legalism.[2] There was the army of Priests, Levites and Temple servants with a warlike as well as a spiritual discipline, a financial as well as a religious training, under captains as well as chief priests, like one of the great military orders of Christianity ; accustomed to sentinel the walls of their sanctuary, but ready when these were taken to die round its altar rather than remit their sacred rites.[3] There were a considerable number of wealthy families,[4] a considerable volume of commerce and industry ; [5] but, on the other hand, swarms of idlers and mendicants, much poverty, and because of the comparative sterility of the surroundings, a general precariousness of subsistence, which under drought or invasion, especially if the latter coincided with a Sabbatic year, rapidly became famine.[6] Of clean and ardent souls we descry not a few ; there must have been many more, keeping themselves from the world and nursing the most spiritual of the national promises ; and a still larger number of simple men, ignorant, brave, devoted, the innocent prey of leaders with less lofty ambitions for Israel. We have seen the character of the City's ' multitude' : intensely jealous for

[1] Vol. i. 423. See below, p. 572.
[2] Vol. i. 416, 447, 45[2].
[3] Vol. i. 351 ff., 423 ff.
[4] Vol. i. 368.
[6] Vol. i. 374 ff.
VOL 1. 298 ff. ; vol. ii. 456 ; cf. below, p. 563.

the Law and the purity of public worship, but even more bent on their political freedom ; accustomed to be consulted by their rulers, expert in discussion, conscious of their power, and easily stirred to revolt.' To them were added at the feasts an innumerable throng from the country,' so that at such seasons Jerusalem was less a City than a nation concentrated like a city to one man's voice and influence.[2] And finally, we have appreciated the double exposure of all this life : on the one side, its recent openness, through the Hellenised cities of Palestine and the new port of Caesarea, to the Greek and Roman world ; [3] on the other, its ancient neighbourhood to the Desert, so hospitable to its forces of fanaticism and revolt.[4]

In the Gospels, the story of a Galilean Prophet and His disciples, Jerusalem appears mainly as a Place of Pilgrimage, and, with but few exceptions,[5] only on the occasion of the great Festivals.[6] She is *the Holy City*.[7] So long as Jesus is the master of His movements, we hear of little but the Sanctuary, and only of its outer courts.[6] He does not go elsewhere within the walls except to Bethesda and to the house selected for His last Passover ;[6] He does not

Jerusalem of the Gospels—Appendix. Pilgrimage.

Vol. i. 455.

[2] Vol. i. 442 f., 445, 449 ff., 454-
[3] Vol. i. 453 f. ; vol. ii. 478
[4] Vol. i. ii *ff.*, 400, 452, 454; vol. ii. 454, 457, 483.
[5] Luke i.-ii. 4o ; Matt. ii. 1 tE (the dates of which are uncertain) ; cf. iv. 5, the Second Temptation.
Luke ii. 42 ; John [2]2. 23, 23 (the Passover) ; v. 1 (the Feast); vii. 2, to (Tabernacles); x. 22 (F. of the Dedication, see above, 454 f.); and the accounts of our Lord's last Passover in all the Gospels ; cf. Acts ii. (Pentecost).
[6] Cf. above, p. [illegible].
[7] Matt. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; see vol. i. 270.
[9] John v. 2 ff. ; Mark xiv. 12 fE, etc. We are not told where Nicodemus came to Him.

speak of any other place except Siloam' The Temple bulks before everything else, the wonder of all visitors to the City ; its dizzy pinnacles the scene of His own Temptation [2] — a remarkable proof of the impression which the lofty House had left on His boyhood. Beside the Temple neither the walls nor Herod's Castle nor his Towers are noticed, but they are implied in that utterance of our Lord, on His approach round Olivet, when the whole military appearance of the place burst upon Him and He foretold its siege and overthrow .° Perhaps there are also allusions to the characteristic housetops of the town,' and to its market-places and numerous synagogues,° but these features were equally conspicuous in other towns.

The rest of the time in which He was master of His movements, Jesus spent with His disciples outside the walls, and (it is interesting to observe) only in that part of the environs which lay opposite the Temple. From Jericho they came up past Bethany and Bethphage. The full strength, the full pity, of the City burst upon Him as He crossed either the shoulder or the summit of the Mount of Olives .° The last nights they passed in Bethany and out on the Mount itself. This bivouac was His custom : *they went every man to his own house, but Jesus went to the Mount of Olives ; He came out and went, as His custom was, to the Mount*

2. Our Lord's Resorts in the Environs.

[1] John ix. 7, 11. [2] Mark xi. x ; xiii. ; cf. Luke xxi. 5 ff,
[3] Luke xix. 43 ff. [4] Mark xiii. 15, etc.
5 Matt. xx. 3 ; xxiii. 7 ; John xviii. 20; cf. Acts vi. 9.
° Luke xix. 41 ff. What line the road from Jericho took in those days is uncertain. There is trace of an ancient road over the top of Olivet (above, pp. 44 f.); but the mention of Bethany and Bethphage suggests that, as now, the road came round the Mount. See the fine description in Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine,* 190 ff.

of Olives.' There He taught as He taught in the Temple.[2] His parables and illustrations in Jerusalem include marriage feasts and trading with pounds or talents, also the Temple figures of the Pharisee and the Publican, and of the Widow putting her mite into the Treasury ; but otherwise they are of vines and figs, vineyards and sheepfolds, the fountain of living water, and the white tombs conspicuous round the City —all of them visible from His haunts on the Mount. There *He sat over against the Temple.*[3] And thither He crossed the Kidron to His agony in Gethsemane.

In the religious expectation of the time, Jerusalem bore further aspect than as the place of pilgrimage or of a prophet's teaching. The Apocalypses predicted that the City should be the glorious centre of the new dispensation.' There the the Kingdom was to come and the Messiah appear to reign : most probably at one of the great feasts when the Nation would be gathered to meet Him. The popular revolts, at the call of some ' prophet ' or other,' doubtless happened during such seasons, when the excitable populace was reinforced by the simple and credulous peasantry. That such ideas held the imagination of some of the disciples of Jesus is plain from the petition of James and John, while *they were in the way going up to Jerusalem: Grant that we may sit one on Thy right hand and one on Thy left hand in Thy glory.'* He knew that Jerusalem held not His throne, but the cup whereof

How the comes with the Story.

1 John vii. 53, viii. 1, the section on the Woman taken in Adultery ; Luke xxii. 39; cf. xxi. 37.
[2] Matt. xxiv. 3. [3] Mark xiii. 3.
[4] Above, pp. 537 f. ° Vol. i. 451.
[6] Mark x. 32, 35 ff. ; Matt. xx. 17 ff : see Bengel on verse 22,

He must drink. The chief priests were waiting for Him there. There sat the Sanhedrin and the Gentile governor into whose hands they would deliver Him to death.[1] When His anticipations were fulfilled, and He was arrested, He was brought beyond the Temple, and so for the first time the West Hill comes into the story. He was taken to the house of the High Priest, to the Prtoriurn, to the residence of Herod Antipas, back to the Prxtorium, and thence through a northern gate to His crucifixion beyond the walls, where also He was buried.

4. The Neighbourhood of the Desert.

Of the neighbourhood of the Desert to Jerusalem, and the conspiracy of its wild freedom with the turbulence and fanaticism of her people,[2] there is not so much reflection in the Gospels as in Josephus, with his stories of prophets who called the multitude to ' see the signals of liberty in the wilderness,' or led them back to behold the walls fall. But Jesus alludes to the same popular hope in the Desert when in His last discourse He says : *If they should say unto you, Behold, He is in the wilderness, go not forth* ;[3] and it is significant that two of His temptations are laid in the Desert and in the Temple. In a similar con: nection with the City the Jordan appears, and for the first time in its history. To its banks the populace of the City follow John, and afterwards Theudas.[3]

5. The Openness to the West.

Of the opposite, and recent, exposure of Jerusalem to the western world, there is ample illustration in the drift of the story through the Book of Acts : down the hills on which the City stood, by the Gaza road, to the maritime plain, and to Ashdod,

Vol. i. 453, 454. [2] Matt. xxiv. 26. [3] VOL i. 449.

or more directly to Lydda, Joppa, and out through Caesarea to Cyprus,' Asia Minor, Greece and Rome. The Gospels are already ominous of this decentralisation of the religion. They contain no such promises of the glory of Jerusalem as we find in the Apocalypses with their narrow Jewish outlook. The destruction of the City is foretold, and no restoration. The disciples are bidden to tarry at Jerusalem, only till they are endued with power from on high. We have seen how, for a time, they clung to the Temple and the Law, and that before the destruction of 70 they had finally broken from these and othei national institutions.

6. The Poverty of the City.

One other feature has to be considered. In the course of the history it has become clear how unable the City was to support herself from her own resources, and how many non-productive members her population contained.[2] Jerusalem was naturally a poor City. This condition is reflected in all that the Book of Acts affirms about the poverty of her Christians and their need of support from abroad. The first practical measures of the Church were the voluntary surrender by the wealthy members of their estates, that no brother might be in need.[3] The earliest development of her system had to do with the *daily ministrations.*[4] When a famine threatened *the world,* it was at once felt that the brethren in Judaea would suffer most, and accordingly the council in Antioch determined that relief should be sent to them, of which Barnabas and Saul were the ministers.[5]

1 Acts viii. 26 ; ix. 30, 32 ff., x., etc.
[2] Vol. i. 3, 34 1., 297 f., 327, 372 ; vol. ii. 222.
[3] Acts ii. 44 ; iv. 32, 34 ff. : cf. iii. 6. [4] Acts vi. i ff.
5 Acts xi. 27 ff. ; xii. 25 ; cf. Galatians ii. 10.

To the student of the Gospels and the Acts it is more important to feel these general aspects of the Christian story of Jerusalem, than that he should know, or think he knows, its exact topography. And indeed no part of the topographical tradition of the City is more difficult than that which deals with the data of the Gospels. The textual uncertainties are many. The most sacred sites of all, Calvary and the Sepulchre, lie in that part of the City where the destruction by Titus was complete and continuous excavation has been least possible.

These Aspects more important than the exact Topography.

Perhaps the most difficult datum is the verse which speaks of the Pool of Bethesda.' The name has been handed down in three different forms; Bethesda, as in our Authorised Version, but derived from sources of inferior value ; Bethzatha or Bezatha, with good manuscript evidence and accepted by leading authorities of our own time ; and Bethsaida, with early and apparently independent traditions in its favour.[2] Nor is the meaning of any of these quite clear. Bethesda is usually taken as *house of mercy,* but this is not certain.[3] Bethzatha was the name of the quarter of

The Topography-i. The Pool of Bethesda.

I John v. 2.

2 49caba, textus receptus, Peshiqo ; cod. leid., *O.S.* Eus. and Jerome, ed. Larsow-Parthey, 112 f. *Bn4a0a,* N, L., Tischendorf, W. H., and Moffatt; or Brgh0a, Eusebius in Lag. *O.S.* 251 ; or *Be4c0a,* D. *BnOo˙cu8a,* B., several versions, Tertullian, Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) and Jerome in Lag. *O.S.* 142 ; 'the combination of two authorities so wide apart as Tertullian and B., carrying it back to a remote antiquity' (Sanday, *S.S.* 57) ; so too the Vulgate. J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays,* 29 Is., prefers BneacuSa with *BnOgact as* an alternative.

3 Aram. Beth-hisda, Syr. Beth-hesda ; it is doubtful whether an original *iii* or he would be represented in Greek by e. Mediaeval tradition took it as Nie)N n+3, locus' or domus effusionis,' from the belief that there poured into it the washings of the altar and inner court and the blood of the victims (Eus., Jer., as above ; Quaresmius, *Elucid. vol.* ii. Sob, where the name,

the City to the north of the Temple.' Bethsaida, house of hunting,' or t of fishing,' though well supported, is hardly appropriate to Jerusalem,[2] and may easily have arisen, through an error of the ear, for Bethzaitha, place of olives,' or by confusion with the Galilean place-name. The rest of the verse is also ambiguous. As it stands, it reads : *there was in Jerusalem by the Probatike a Pool called in Hebrew B., having five porches. Probatike* is the adjective used by the Septuagint to translate *sheep* in the name *the Sheep-Gate ;* [3] and the clause is therefore translated *by the Sheep-Gate a Pool, called B.* Another reading with considerable support runs : *there was in Jerusalem a Sheep-Pool called in Hebrew* B.[4] The suggestion also has been made : *there was by the Sheep-Pool* that which was *called in Hebrew B.'* But it is possible that *Probatike* is the reproduction of an Aramaic noun *Perobatayah, Bath* or *Baths.*[6] In any

however, is Bethsaida ; Reland, *Pal.* 856 ; Bochart, *Phaleg* 630). So Ewald *(Hist.* vi. 282 *n.),* Conder (Hastings' *D.B. i.* 279b, nietN=stream), but thinking rather of a natural emission of water which would suit the Virgin's Spring=Gihon `the gusher.' Lewin *(Sketch of /erns.* 268), MN 11'1r house of washing.' Brose *(St. u. Kr.,* Jan. 1902) goes back to the mediaeval idea. Westcott *(St. John)* quotes Delitzsch, isDoN n+2, *°TKOS crrocis,* `house of the Portico.'

1 VOL i. 247.

2 See, however, on fish-ponds, vol. i. 317 n. 4.

3 Neh. iii. 1, 32 ; xii. 39 : *:troXn .;/ rpopar:K7),* vol. i. 200.

4 Cod. N. Eusebius and Jerome apply the adjective to the Pool. So Chrysostom. Vulgate, *probatica piscina.*

Smith, *D.B.*(2) art. Bethesda' by Grove and Wilson.

6 Cf. Buxtorf *(Lex. Chad.,* etc.), N,Dninn *balneae,* with references to Cite Targum and Midrash on Eccles. ii. 8, wbich explain *the delights of men* in that verse as *baths.* Baths among the Jews were introduced by Greeks or Romans. The Aramaic word is variously derived : from the Greek *irpopart. Kos,* or *replwaros,* or the Latin *,Orivata,* at first applied to private baths as distinguished from public ones (Levy, *Neu. Hebr. u. Chald. Worlerbuch,* ronom-m). Note that Eccles. ii. 8 was referred to Solomon, and that one of the proposed sites for Bethesda may be Solomon's Pool (below, p. 567).

,This explanation of Probatike suggested itself to me on coming across

case we are not tied down by the text to a site in the neighbourhood of the Sheep-Gate. At least six sites have been proposed : the Hammam esh-Shefa,[1] the Twin Pools adjoining the north-west corner of Antonia, the Birket Israin, the Twin-Pools at St. Anne's,' the Virgin's Well or Gihon, and Siloam. Tradition supports in succession the second, third and fourth of these. The Twin-Pools by Antonia are probably those identified with Bethesda by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Eucherius, Eusebius and Jerome ; the Birket Israin has been connected with our passage since the thirteenth century ; and the Pools of St. Anne's at least since the Crusades. If the *troubling of the waters* was due to the emptying of the lavers and conduits of the Temple, that would be possible in the Twin-Pools near Antonia and in the Birket Israin, assuming that these existed before 7o A.D., which is uncertain. If *the troubling* was due to a natural syphonic spring, this, if it ever existed north of the Temple, has been destroyed or masked by the earthquakes. All three sites suit the well-supported reading Bethzatha, and lie in the neighbourhood of the old Sheep-Gate. But, as we have seen, neither of these reasons is decisive. If *Probatiki*

Perobatayah in Buxtorf and Levy ; but I have since found that it was suggested by *Sepp, Jerusalem* (1863), i. 331, and by Bishop Lightfoot in his Lecture-notes, published posthumously in *Biblical Essays* (1893), p. 170. There must, therefore, be something in it.

[1] By Sepp, *Jerusalem, i.* 329, 331, and by Furrer ; see vol. i. 84 [71]. 4.

[2] On these three see vol. i. 116 f. : and add to the references there Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res. i.* 118 f. : The Sanctuary of the *House of St. Anne,* built on the actual site of Bethesda, has for its origin a play upon the words *Bethesda* and *Beit Hanna,* both of which mean "House of Grace." We have a decisive material proof of this, the marble foot discovered at St. Anne's itself, and bearing . . . an *ex veto* in Greek, of Pompeia Lucilia in gratitude for his cure at the Sheep-Pool.' But this proves only that in Greek times the pool was identified with Bethesda. See also Mommert, *Topogr. d. alt. jerus. iii.* 97 ; Sanday, S.S. 55 ff. ; Rix, Tent *and Testament,* 205-208.

may be taken absolutely as a proper name, whether meaning *Bath* or something else, and the reading Bethesda, or even Bethsaida, be possible, then one of the two sites south of the Temple is open to us ; and on each of these we have a pool periodically disturbed by a natural spring which would suit the reading Bethesda and its equation, house of emission.' The ancient name of the Virgin's Spring was Gihon, the Gusher '; there lies a Pool—in ancient times there may have been a larger one—which still has the reputation of healing diseases.[1] The water of the Pool of Siloam was also disturbed at intervals by the intermittent rush from Gihon ; the Pool was possibly rebuilt in Herod's time.' But, on the other hand, Siloam is separately mentioned in the Fourth Gospel : to the writer it can hardly have been the same as Bethesda.' The balance of evidence, therefore, is in favour of the Virgin's Spring, but the whole is uncertain.

Three questions arise concerning the Upper Room in which our Lord kept the Passover with His disciples. *First:* Is it the same as that in which the disciples gathered after His ascension ? *Second:* Did it remain the usual meeting-place of the Church till the destruction of Jerusalem ? *Third:* Did either the Supper Room or the Church, or both, occupy the site with which a very old tradition has identified them—the present Coenaculum in the complex of buildings

2. The Upper Room—the Ccenaculum.

V. i. 87 ff.; on the supposed pool here, 91, 198 *n.* 2. It may have been Solomon's Pool' of Josephus (v. *B.J.* iv., *the Xin,g's Pool,* Nell. iii. 15). The late Yusuf Pasha informed me that in his boyhood he was sent to bathe in this pool when he was ill. On this identification see Lightfoot, *Opera* ii. 588 ; Robinson, 508; Corder, 'Bethesda' in Hastings' *D. B.*

[2] Bliss, *Excay. at jerus. 1894-1897,* 330.

[3] Rix, *Tent and Test.* 255, argues for Siloam, but does not give enough weight to the above reason against it.

known as Neby Daftd, on the South-West Hill (the 'traditional Sion ') and connected with, among other places,' that of the death or *Dormitio* of the Virgin ? These questions have recently been answered in the affirmative by writers of different schools.[1] Dr. Sanday, for example, does not think there is any reason to doubt that where the " upper room " is mentioned in the Gospels and Acts, it is the same upper room that is meant.' Nor does he think it a very precarious step to identify this upper room as in the house of Mary the mother of Mark. . . . It seems to me' (he continues) that the combinations are quite legitimate, and only give unity and compactness to the history, if we suppose that the house of Mary and her son was the one central meeting-place of the Church of Jerusalem throughout the Apostolic age. Our latest evidence for it is on the occasion of the release of St. Peter in 44 A.D. But there is no reason to think that there would be any change between that date and the flight of the threatened community to Pella in the year 66.' The present writer would willingly agree with these opinions, both for their own attractiveness and from his respect for the authority of those who hold them. But while the facts alleged are within the bounds of possibility, they are not very probable. One need not, indeed, be hindered by the objection that Luke uses one word for *upper chamber* in the Gospel and another in Acts.[2] But Luke

[1] C. Mommert, *Die Dormitio u. das Deutsche Grundstiick auf dens tradi. tionellen Zion,* 1899 ; Th. Zahn, Die Dormitio Sanctae Virginis u. das Haus des Johannes Markus,' in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* x. (1899), 377 ff. (not seen) ; also *Ein1.0)* 11. 212 *f.;* W. Sanday, S.S. *77 ff. ; J.* Weiss, *D. tilteste Evang.* 409. Mommert distinguishes between the Dormitio and the Coenaculum.

[2] Luke xxii. 1r f., *ciYa-yacoy ue-ya,* a *great upper chamber* (cf. Mark xiv. 14 f., which has also (rd *narfaupi, sou, my guest-chamber);* Acts ii. 13, (r6 *inre40y, the upper chamber where they were abiding.*

would surely have noticed the identity ; in the Gospel he implies that the first upper chamber was only for the puipose of the Passover. It is still more precarious to argue both that this was in the house of Mark's mother, and that it remained the meeting-place of the Church till 66 A.D. Considering the rapid growth of the community and other circumstances of their life, it is more probable that their meeting-place changed from time to time. Then Dr. Sanday finds that the New Testament data are met by evidence from the time of Hadrian.' But this is the testimony of Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth century (3I2-4o3).[1] He reports that forty-seven years after the ruin by Titus, Hadrian, on his arrival at Jerusalem, found the whole city levelled . . . save a few dwellings and the little Church of God, whither the disciples returned when the Saviour was taken up from Olivet, and they went up to the upper room ; for it had been built there, that is in the quarter of Sion. [The church] had been left over from the destruction, and parts of the dwellings about Sion, and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Sion, like huts, one of which survived till the time of the bishop Maximonas and the Emperor Constantine, like *a booth in the vineyard,* according to the Scripture.' Similar testimonies exist from the same period.[2] Dr. Sanday remarks that the historical character of the tradition need not be questioned. Surely all that can be said is that it is not ifnpossible. The tradition has the same antiquity as that of the Holy Sepulchre. From the fourth century till now it has been constant. As in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, other scenes of the sacred history have been grouped in and round the Upper Room or Ccenaculum :

De Ilfensuris et Ponderibus, XiV, [2] See Zahn, *Einl.(211 213.*

the place of Pentecost, the house of St. John with the scene of the Dormitio, or death, of the Blessed Virgin, the house of Caiaphas, the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, the place where He appeared in Galilee.' There has been much rebuilding on the site : including the restoration of a basilica after the Persian destruction in 614 A.D. ; a church of two stories in the time of the Crusades ; and a reconstruction by the Franciscans in 1333, from, which the present form of the Ccenaculum dates. In 1547 it passed into the hands of the Moslems, who still hold it.

3. Gethsemane.

The Synoptic Gospels agree that after the Supper our Lord and His disciples *went out to the Mount of Olives,* Luke adds, *as was His custom; to an enclosed piece of ground named Gethsemane,* or *Oil-Press,* Luke simply says at *the place,* but John that it was a *garden across the winter-brook, ICidron.*[1] The traditional site, in possession of the Franciscans, received its present form so recently as 1848.[2] But a Grotto of the Agony' is shown some paces to the north, and is reached by a passage from the forecourt of the Church of the Virgin's Tomb : it may have been a cistern or oil-vat. The Church represents St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,' one of the principal sanctuaries of Jerusalem during the Latin kingdom ;[3] doubtless that which the Moslem geographers of the tenth and twelfth centuries call El Jismaniyah," The Place of the Incarnation,' a corruption of Gethsemane.[4] From this the

Mark xiv. 26, 32 ; Matt. xxvi. 3o, 36 ; Luke xxii. 39 f. ; John xviii. 1. *rthanp.avei or-on, i.e.* t4)no ro. another reading, *-yecro-*, implies the same, and hardly t.4%), Oil-glen. On the ITidron see vol. i. 8o f.

Robinson, cf. *B.R. 1.* 346 and *L.B.R.* 288.

[3] Frequent references in Rohricht's *Regesla.*

[4] So Mas'ildi and Idrisi. Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems,* 203, 210.

tradition is pretty constant back to the fourth century, where the data of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 333 A.D., and Eusebius, are not against the present site, and the position is defined by Jerome as at the roots of Olivet with a church built over it.' Whether all this rests on earlier tradition we cannot tell. The Gospels assure us of a site on Olivet opposite the Temple, for this was our Lord's usual resort. It is not necessary to suppose that the garden lay much higher up the hill. But wherever it was —and the slopes have suffered much these nineteen centuries—any of the olive-groves on the Mount which have not been dressed as the Franciscan garden has, will give the pilgrim a more natural impression of the scene of our Lord's agony than the latter can.

After the arrest on Olivet, Jesus was led to the *house of the. High Priest,*[2] which might also be described as his *Aule* or *Court.a* It was evidently a large building with a court in front, and before this a Proaulion or Pulon.[4] In all probability it lay with the Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces, and other notable buildings, on the South-West Hill. That is where Josephus places the residence of a later High

4. The House of the High Priest.

Edtbius (in Lag. *O.S.* 257), *Pcdō-tuapi), xceplov, 60a rp() roc* rci0ous Xpcoras *rpocrn4wro.* Keirctt H Kca irp(ls Tlp ilpft T1jt· ACELLIM, tv 1,3 Kdi -ras etlxas of *slorol irocao-Oat ō-rovadivovoLv.* The church upon it was therefore built between the time of Eusebius and that of Jerome.

[2] *Els rip' o6dav* TOO *apX/Ep&JS:* Luke xxii. 54 ; locality is implied also in Mark xiv. 53 ff., Matt. xxvi. 57.

[3] John xviii. 25 ff. : *els TO at',X0 roil ā.* IIere Aule seems to be the whole residence of the High Priest (cf. in Josephus above, p. 488), and so too, possibly, even in Mark xiv. 54, Matt. xxvi. 58. Elsewhere Aule is the court in front of the house, in which Peter remained *outside* (Matt. xxvi. 69), or *below* (Mark xiv. 66). The questions raised by John's story (xviii, 12-24), that Jesus was led first to Annas, then to Caiaphas, do not concern us here. But notice, in illustration of John's two chief priests, Josephus iv. *B.J.* iii. 7.

[4] Mark xiv. 66, 68 ; Matt. xxvi. 69, 71.

Priest, Ananias.' To this house were gathered *the chief priests, elders and scribes,*[2] the members of the Sanhedrin. It seems also implied, though not necessarily, that a formal meeting of the Council was held : now *the chief priests and the whole Sanhedrin sought witness against Jesus that they might put Him to death* .[3] We have seen that the Sanhedrin, usually sat in their chamber in the Temple, but that under stress of circumstances they might meet elsewhere.[4] If this midnight meeting in the house of Caiaphas was a formal one, the uncanonical hour may be explained by the desire to complete the punishment in the case before the Sabbath,[5] the unusual place by the fact that at that hour the Temple gates were shut.° We have seen how ready both Herod and the Zealots were, on the one hand, to seem to observe the forms, and on the other to violate the spirit, of the Law.[7] The Sadducees were also reputed, on other occasions than this, to have been unscrupulous and irregular in their management of the Sanhedrin.[8] No one familiar with the constitutional history of the period can doubt

[1] *ii. B. J.* xvii. 6. [2] Mark xiv. 53 ; Matt. xxvi. 59.

[3] Mark xiv. 55 ; Matt. xxvi. 59 (false witness). It is possible to refer this either to a previous procedure of the whole Sanhedrin, or to an informal meeting at this time. [4] Vol. i. 420.

[5] The procedure both in money-cases, mm)** '13+1, and capital cases, n)vm Nyii, is explained in the *Mishna, `Sanhedrin'* iv. I. The former could be finished in one day, in the latter the sentence could be pronounced only on the day after the trial ; accordingly there were no courts or judgments on the evening before the Sabbath or a feast day.'

[8] Vol. i. 424. [7] VOL i. 433, 444 ff-

[8] *Keim,Jesus of Nazara,* 41 *f.,* with references to Josephus, xx. *Ant.* ix. the trial and stoning of James, in which the illegality of the procedure under the leadership of the younger Ananias and the Sadducees is indicated (the Pharisees contrasted with them in this respect, xiii. *Ant.* x. 6 ; ii. *B.J.* viii. 14.) For a detailed criticism, with the conclusion that no formal sentence was passed, see J. Weiss, *D. alteste Evang.* 306 ff.

the possibility of such procedure as the Evangelists describe. Another meeting of the Sanhedrin—to pass the sentence arrived at during the night, or to have further consultation—was held at sunrise, within the canonical hours, and probably in the regular chamber.'

From the Sanhedrin Jesus was led to Pilate, the Procurator.[2] John says that He was led straight from Caiaphas to the Prxtorium,[3] into which He was taken to Pilate, while the Jews remained outside ; during the rest of John's account Pilate comes and goes between Jesus in the Prwtorium and the multitude in front of it; finally, he brings Jesus out to them and takes his seat on *the Bema, or judgment-seat, at a place called the Pavement, but in Hebrew Gabbatha.*[4] Matthew also speaks of Pilate sitting on the Bema in face of the multitude,[5] and Mark and Luke recount that Pilate's decision was given before the multitudes Matthew and Mark then describe how the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the Prtorium.[7] The name Prweorium, originally the Praetor's (or general's) quarters in a Roman camp, was also applied to the official residence of the governor of a Province.[8] In this sense it used in Acts : the Prxtorium of Herod in Cmsarea

5. The Prwtoriurri= Herod's Palace.

Mark xv. 1; Matt. xxvii. ; Luke xxii. 66. See J. Weiss, *op. cit.* 308 ff.

[3] Mark xv. r ; Matt. xxvii. 2 (who alone gives the title) ; Luke xxiii. 1. On *Governor,* see vol. i. 453. [3] John xviii. 28 ff. [4] John xix. 13.

[5] Matt. xxvii. 19; cf. 57. [5] Mark xv. 8 ff. ; Luke xxiii. 4 ff., 18 ff.

[7] Matt. xxvii. 27 ; Mark xv. 16, *into the Court which is the Pratorium.* Brandt *(Die Evang. Gesch.* 107), quoted with approval by Canney, *Enc. Bibl.* 3823, says that *which is the Pratorium* is a strange addition, A. gloss occasioned by the text of Matthew.' But such a criticism is strange to any one who knows the history of Herod's Palace. Josephus called it an Aule ; this was evidently the common Greek name for it, and it was now the Prxtorium. Mark's expression therefore is both natural and exactly correct. [8] Cicero, *In Verrem, 11.* iv. 28 ; v. 35.

was the palace which Herod built there and which was used by the Procurator as his residence.' But the name was also given to those residences which either the governor or other officials occupied when on tour through their province.' The Prwtorium in Jerusalem was therefore the Government House ; in front of it stood the Procurator's tribunal, and it contained a detachment of soldiers.' The sites advocated are naturally two: the Castle Antonia, because tradition places the House of Pilate [4] near it, and in it was the larger part of the garrison,' while the Pavement is identified with the space between the Castle and the Temple ; and Herod's Palace on the West Hill.' I think we can have little hesitation in deciding for the latter. It was in the Palace of Herod, says Philo,[7] that Pilate hung up the golden shields which brought him into trouble with the Jews. It was, says Josephus, ' in the Palace that Florus the Procurator took up his quarters, and having placed his tribunal in front of it, held his sessions, and the chief priests, influential persons, and notables of the city appeared before the tribunal.' Provoked by their arguments, he shouted to the soldiers

Acts xxiii. 35. See Schiirer, *Gesch.*(3) 457 f.

[2] Cf. Domaszewski in Briinnow and D. *Die Provincia Arabia,* ii. 58, on the inscription at lusr Bsher, castra praetorii Mobeni,' with reference to Mommsen, *Hermes,* 1900, P. 436 n. 3. Vincent, *Rev. Bibl.,* 1898, p• 436, quotes from Cagnat, *L' Annie Romaine d'Afrique (578 n.* 7), to the effect that in a certain case Prmtorium signifies `non pas un etablis• sement militaire, mais un gite d'etape comme on en contruisait le long des grandes routes pour servir d'abri aux officiers et aux fonctionnaires en voyage.'

[3] SX71Y rip' a-mei:pap (Mark xv. i6; Matt. xxvii. 27), not necessarily *the whole cohort, vol. i. 426.*

[4] Mommert, *Das Prlitor. des Pilatus* (1903), argues for a site in the central valley, on the ground of the Un. Armenians ; see especially pp. 23 ff. 69.81.

[5] Weiss, Westcott, Swete *(Mark* on xv. 16) and others.

[6] Sepp, Ewald, Keim, Meyer, Schiirer, Edersheim, Kreyenbiihl *(Z.N. 7'. W.,* 1902, 15 ff.), Sanday *(S.S.* 52 ff.), Purves in Hastings' *D.B.,* an excellent article.

[7] *Leg. ad Caium, 35.*

to plunder the Upper Market and to slay those they fell in with,' and many of the moderate citizens they brought up before Florus, whom with stripes he first scourged and then crucified' Later he tried to force his way to the Antonia with such soldiers as were with him out of the Royal Aule,' but they had to fall back on the camp, which was at the Palace' We have seen other proofs that part of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem were stationed here.' There is no need, therefore, for calling in the Antonia and its guardroom ; everything indicates that the Roman trial of our Lord happened in or before the Palace of Herod on the South-West Hill. But above all this is distinctly stated by Mark : *He was taken into the Aule, which is the Pratorium.*[4] That Pilate's tribunal was set on *Pavement* or *Mosaic'* was in accordance with Roman custom. Gabbatha may not be given as its translation, but as the Hebrew name of the place. It means either an elevated place or a bare and open one, or even possibly mosaic.' In front, then, of Herod's

Josephus, ii. *B.j.* xiv. 8.

Id. xv. 5 ; with *gizgancii mail* cf. *atlXil fiaacXe6n, v. B.J. iv.* 4 ; and above, pp. 488, 571.

[3] VOL i. 426.

[4] See above, p. 573 *n.* 7.

[5] *AtO6o rpcorov : 'Efipdia-7-1 8t 1'afiga0d.*

[6] Cf. m, tin), emphatic state, ₙr m, *elevation, raised back, ridge ;* mᵢn, *elevation,* also *bald* place on the forehead ;:Levy, *Neu. Hebr. u. Chald. Li7Orter buck,* s. vv. Dalman (*Wortejesu, i.* 6) prefers the latter in its definite form, torm But it is not to be overlooked that there is a root = in the Hebrew of the time, to bring or pack together a lot of little things (applied to an argument made out of trifles), and that ;-== means anything composed of fragments, loppings, chips (Levy). This comes very near a *mosaic.* Only there are other Aramaic terms for that. The suggestion that the name is ' a purely artificial formation, the writer himself attaching no meaning to it' *(Enc. Bibl.* 3640), is incredible. That a writer, otherwise regarded by the author of this theory as writing continually in symbols, should be supposed to have invented a meaningless name, is surely an inconsistent piece of criticism.

Palace, the site now occupied by the Turkish citadel, stood the Procurator's tribunal, where Jesus was tried by Pilate, presented to the people along with Barabbas, rejected by the multitude and scourged. In the Palace itself, or in `the camp' which Josephus says was attached to it, He endured the mockery of the soldiers.

Luke alone tells us that Pilate, hearing that Jesus was a Galilean and of the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, sent Him to the latter, *who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.* After questioning our Lord, who gave him no answer, *Herod with his soldiers set Him at nought and mocked Him, and arraying Him in gorgeous apparel sent Him back to Pilate?* Ewald has suggested that upon their visits to Jerusalem the children of Herod the Great found quarters in a wing of the Pratorium, their father's Palace. It is more probable that Antipas occupied the Palace of the Hasmoneans, where indeed we find Agrippa and Bernice living.[2]

6. Residence of Herod Antipas= Hasmonean Palace.

Then *they led Him away, they led Him out, to crucify Him, and as they came out they found a man of Cyrene coming from the country, and laid on him the cross to bear it after Jesus.*[3] In the neighbourhood of the Palace was a City-gate, Gennath.[4] Probably, by this the procession left the town, and came to the place Golgotha, at which they crucified Him. Where Golgotha stood, and where the neighbouring garden lay in which He was buried, we do not know, because, for reasons already' explained, we cannot tell how the Second Wall, at this time the outer wall on the north, exactly ran.[5]

The Crucifixion.

[1] Luke xxiii. 4 ff.
[2] 11. *B. j. xvi.* 3 ; see above, pp. 461 1.
8 Matt. xxvii. 31 f. ; Mark xv. 20 f. ; Luke xxiii. 26.
4 Vol. i. 243.
§ Vol. 1. 247 ff. ; vol. 11. 5[6]4.

While for such topographical details we seek,'and perhaps in the case of some of them seek in vain, let us not fail to lift our eyes to those general aspects of the crisis with which we began this chapter. They are certain. We see our Lord's relations to the several parts of the City and her environs : how while He was master of His movements He kept—save for His ministries at Bethesda and in the Upper Room—to the outer Courts of the Temple and to the Mount of Olives ; but after His arrest He was taken to the West Hill with its Palaces, and thence by a City-Gate to His Crucifixion in the northern suburb. We feel the bare, fierce days of argument and menace within the walls, the hospitable darkness among the olives beyond. We can hear the wild call of the Desert stirring the City's blood, while she sits deaf to the pleadings of the Love of God. Our study of the authorities, the parties, and the popular forces in Jerusalem has enabled us to appreciate how various and confused were the motives of their unnatural conspiracy against this solitary Prophet ; but our criticism of them is controlled by that utterance which some ancient authorities attribute to Jesus and which certainly bears the proof of His spirit : *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do* Ignorance, whatever may have been its causes, is indeed the appalling fact that covers every other aspect of this terrible crime. It was (as we have seen) a believing, an eager and enthusiastic people, with a tumult of hopes in their breast : ready to die by their thousands for leaders whose aims were low enough to flash upon their imagination or to stir their fanatic patriotism ; but equally ready to call for the death of the Prophet, whose ideals were beyond

Review of the General Aspects.

their conceiving, and who, they therefore thought, had betrayed their interests. It was a Priesthood with some noble and many brave and zealous spirits ; but blinded—by professional prejudices, by panic for their influence with the people, by homage to tradition, and by the curiously close and rigorous logic of their scribes—to the spiritual realities, to the fulfilment of the highest promises of their religion, which no prophet had ever brought so near as this one now did. The Supreme Authority, with whom the final sentence lay, was foreign, perplexed, and therefore vacillating. How often in history has the fate of the earnest and the unselfish been decided by judges, at once racially and religiously as incapable as Pilate of understanding the issues before them *Sursum corda !* After the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus no cause of justice, no ministry of truth, no service of one's fellow-men, need despair. Though the People, Religion and the State together triumph over them, beyond the brief day of such a triumph *the days—to* use a prophetic promise which had often rung through Jerusalem—the *days are coming.* The centuries, patient ministers of God, are waiting as surely for them as they waited for Christ beyond His Cross.

Thus, then, did the City and the Man confront each other : that great Fortress, with her rival and separately entrenched forces, for the moment confederate against Him ; that Single Figure, sure of His sufficiency for all their needs, and, though His flesh might shrink from it, conscious that the death which they conspired for Him was His Father's will in the redemption of mankind. As for the embattled City herself, lifted above her ravines and apparently impregnable, she sat

The End.

prepared only for the awful siege and destruction which He foresaw ; while all her spiritual promises, thronging from centuries of hope and prophecy, ran out from her shining into the West : a sunset to herself, but the dawn of a new day to the world beyond.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF BLOCKADES, SIEGES, CAPTURES, AND DESTRUCTIONS SUFFERED BY JERUSALEM .

Besides the capture by David, about moo B.C., the following are known to history t-Plunder of Temple and City by Shoshenk I. of Egypt, about 930 (I Kings xiv. 25 f. ; 2 Chron. xii. 2 ff.) ; partial overthrow by Jehoash of Israel about 790 (2 Kings xiv. 13 ff.); attack by Aram and N. Israel about 734 ; siege by Sennacherib, 701 ; surrender to Nebuchadrezzar, 597 ; his siege and destruction, 587-6; probable sack by the Persians about 35o ; destruction by Ptolemy Soter, 32o (Ka0m4Ket : Appian, *Syr.* 35o) ; siege of Akra by Antiochus III., 198 ; capture by Jason, 17o ; destruction by Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 ; sieges of Akra and Temple, 163-2 ; siege of Akra, 146 ; siege and levelling of walls by Antiochus VII., 134; brief and unsuccessful siege by the Nabateans, 65 ; siege, capture and much destruction by Pompey, 63; sack of Temple by Crassus, 54; capture by the Parthians, 4o; siege and partial destruction by Herod and Sosius, 37 ; insurrection and some ruin on the visit of Florus, 65 A.D. ; brief and unsuccessful siege by Cestus Gallus; 66 ; the great siege and destruction by Titus, 70 ; seizure by the Jews under Bar Cocheba, 131 ; capture and devastation by Hadrian, 132; capture and plunder by Chosroes the Persian, 614 ; re-capture by Heraclius, 628;' occupation by Omar, 637 ; capture by Moslem rebels, 842 ; ruin of Christian buildings, 937 ; occupation by the Fatimite Dynasty, 969; some destruction by the Khalif Hakim, tom ; occupation by the Seljuk Turks, 1675 (?) ; siege and capture by Afdhal, 1096 ; siege, capture and massacre by Godfrey, 1099 ; occupation by Saladin, 1187 ; destruction of walls, 1219 ; capture by the Emir of Kerak, I229; surrender to Frederick tr., 1239; captors and sack by the Kharesmians, 1244; plunder by Arabs, 1480; occupation by Turks, 1547 ; bombardment by Turks, 1825 ; Egyptian occupation, 1831; re-occupation by Turks, 1841.

BUILDING AND REBUILDING OF CITY

Before the Exile by David, Solomon, Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah and Manasseh ; after the Exile, at first by the few Jews who returned from Babylok to rebuild the Temple, and then in the reconstruction of the walls and other buildings under Nehemiah ; after the Persian sack in 35o (?); and that by Ptolemy in 320 ;' by Simon the High Priest in the third century ; by the Maocabees after 168, and then more thoroughly by Simon ; by John Hyrkanus by Antipater after Pompey (Jos. i. B.J. *x.* 4) ; by Herod the Great and Agrippa ; imposition of the Legionary Camp by Titus after 70 A.D. ; ing of walls, etc., by Hadrian from 136 onward ; by Constantine (churches), the Empress Eudocia (walls, churches, etc.), and Justinian (churches and convents); by the Moslems, especially the Khalifs Omar and Main& (mosques and walls); by Christians (churches) under the earliest Moslem supremacy, and especially during the time of the Crusades ; after destruction of walls in **1219 ;** some churches built in the fourteenth century; building *of* the present walls under Suleiman. the Magnificent ; much ruin of the remains of ancient walls, and building of churches, synagogues and *diet • edifices during the nineteenth and present centuries.

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Plate III.



THE VALLEY OF HINNOM Alit) THE SOUTH EST HILL.

V. of Hinnom. S.W. Hill. Present S. all of City. E. Hill. S.E. Corner of Temple Area.

Plate IV.



Mouth of the Tyropoeon, Valley of Kidron.

THE HILLS AND VALLEYS OF JERUSALEM FRO, THE SOUTH-EAST.

The site of the' Pool of Siloam is indicated by thc IOil wIllte minaret i he mouth of the Tyropoeon.

Plate I.

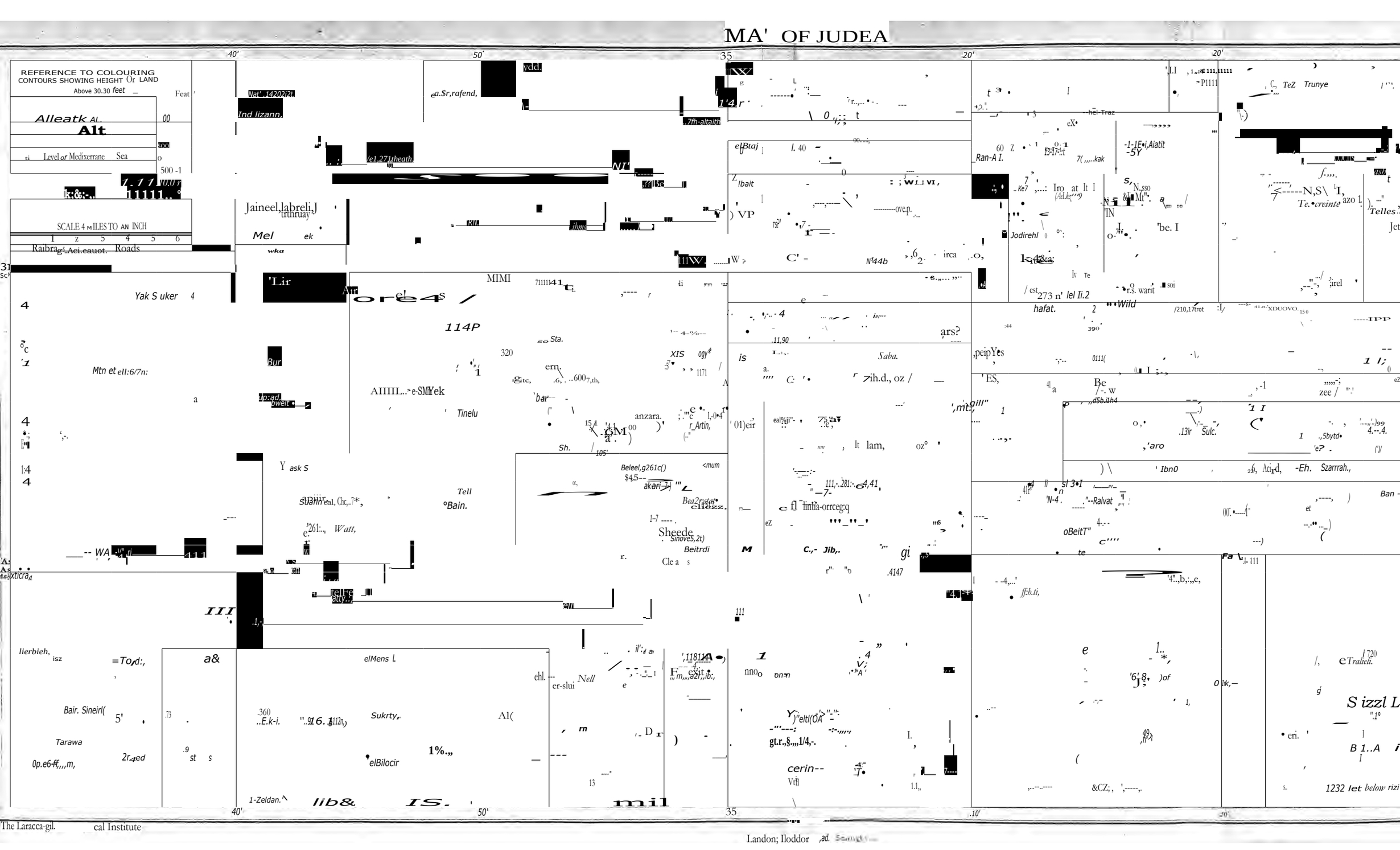


JERUSALEM: LOOKING S.E. BETWEEN OLIVET AND JEBEL DI ABU TOR "f) THE MOABITE PLATEAU.
Taken from the Citad:

Plate II.

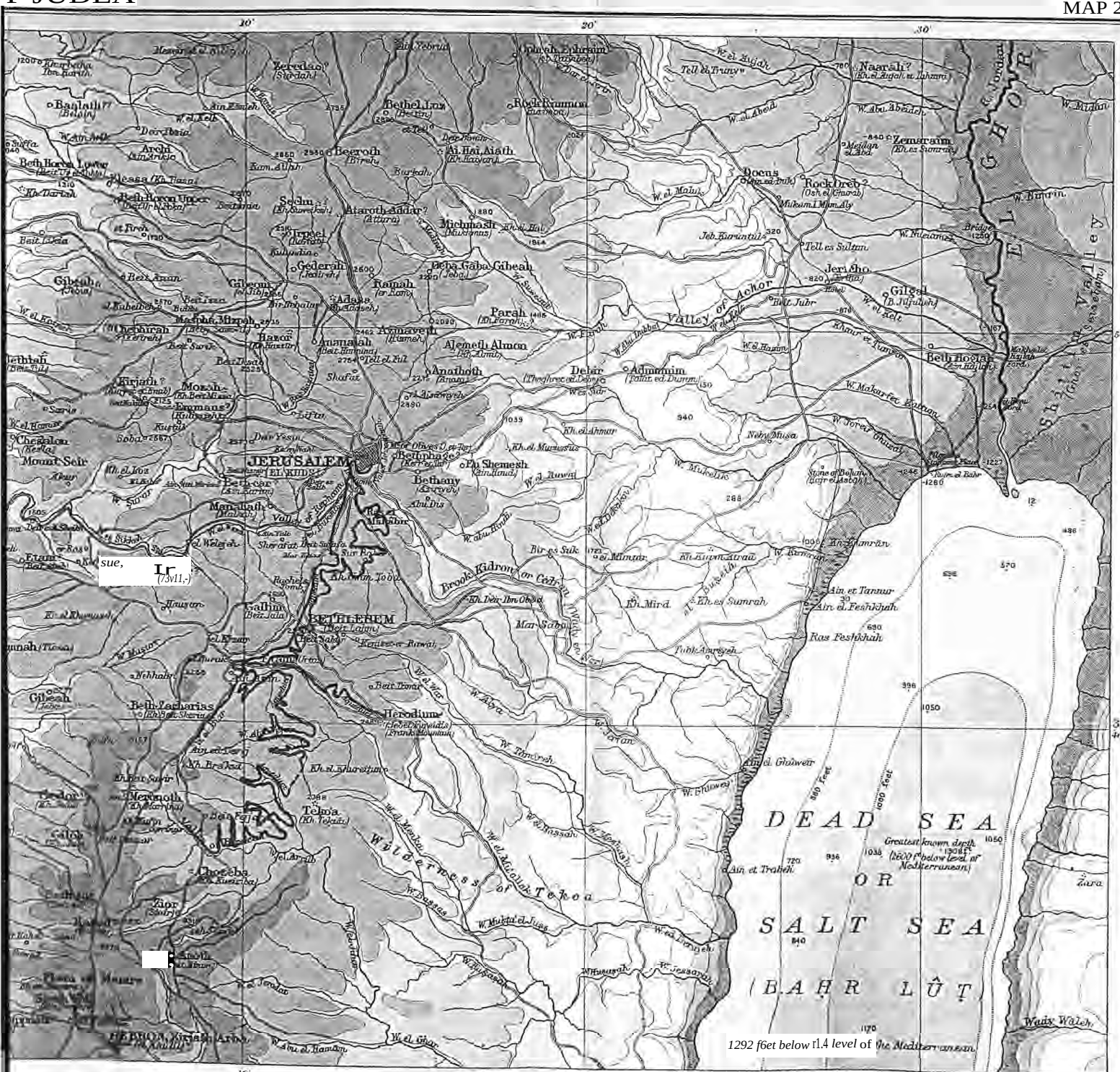


JERUSALEM: LOOKING E. ACROSS THE HARAM ESA SHF.RIF TO THE MT. OF OLIVES:
Taken from the roof of the AshkenatUn Synagogue.


MA' OF JUDEA
REFERENCE TO COLOURING
CONTOURS SHOWING HEIGHT Or LAND
Above 30.30 feet
Level of Mediterrane Sea
SCALE 4 MILES TO AN INCH
Roads
Yak S uker
Mtn et ell:6/7n:
Tell
Bain.
Watt,
Sheede
Beitrdi
Tarawa
Landon; Iloddor
The Laracca-gil.
cal Institute

F JUDEA

MAP 2


JERUSALEM
EL KUDS
BETHLEHEM
Beit Lahm
DEAD SEA
Greatest known depth 1308 ft. (2600 ft below level of Mediterranean)
OR
SALT SEA
(BAḤR LÛṬ
Valley of Achor
Wilderness of Tekoa
Brook Kidron or Cedron
Valley of Rephaim
Valley of Shaveh
Mount Scir
Mount of Olives
Bethphage?
Bethany
Ain et Tannur
Ain el Feshkhah
Ras Feshkhah
Ain et Trabeh
Wady Waleh
Tell es Sultan
Jericho
Gilgal
Beth Hoglah
Ain Hajlah
Ain el Ghuweir
Ain el Ghuweir
Ain el Ghuweir